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The Adaptaton of Monasticism to Meet the Exigencies of the Times

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THE ADAPTATION OF MONASTICISM TO MEET THE EXIGENCIES OF THE TIMES

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by

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To

my Grandmother

Mrs. Martha Stiegler Homberger

who has been a constant source of guidance

and inspiration throughout my life

this thesis is gratefully dedicated

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Introduction

We have all heard of the various Orders in the Catholic Church such as the Benedictines, Franciscans, Dominicans, Society of Jesus, Knights Templars and Knights Hospitalers. How and why did they originate? What brought them into existence? These questions we will take up in this paper, showing the needs of the times which were met or were supposed to be met through the Monastic Orders we have just mentioned. This is not a complete picture; we are merely sketching the rise of these as an illustration of the fact that Monasticism did adapt itself to the exigencies of the times.

When Europe was swamped in the flood of barbarians which swept over it after the disintegration of the Roman Empire, Monasticism in the form of the Benedictine Order helped bring order and organization into Europe. When the Crusades were in progress, it was the Knights Hospitalers and Knights Templars which rose to aid the Church by caring for the sick and wounded pilgrims and crusaders. These Orders also provided the Church with a fighting Order devoted to warfare with the infidel. The Franciscans and the Dominicans, in the thirteenth century, rose to fight the prevailing conditions of neglect of the common man and the spread of heresy. When Protestantism threatened to

engulf Catholicism in its advance over the world, it was the Society of Jesus which arose to combat this force and also to meet the need for missionaries to the newly discovered lands across the sea.

Thus in all periods of Church History the Monastic Orders offered the Church some of the necessary means to meet the prevailing problems. Monasticism did this by adapting itself to meet the exigencies of the times.

Chapter I

The Foundations of Monasticism

The world into which Monasticism came was far from the ideal world. Politically there was persecution, for the Christian Church was not yet the religio licita. Nor, at this time, was there room in the thinking of men, both churchmen and those in secular positions, for the individual. The individual existed solely for the sake of the State and outside of the State there was no reason for his existence. The reason for this was that all men agreed in the belief that the rule of Rome was eternally ordained and was to be placed in the class of the eternal and unchangeable. This rule was the rule of a machine in which the individual was a mere small cog of absolutely no importance outside of this machine. It was to this idea that Monasticism refused to bow. For her the individual had the supreme position and she prepared the way for the modern idea that the State exists for the individual and has such powers as the individuals of the State may confer upon it.[1]

The Church, too, was faced with her problems. Workman quotes Montalembert as saying that the Church "has never known a period in which she was more tormented, more agitated,

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1. H.B. Workman, The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal, p. 28.

or more compromised."[2]

Corruption also had entered into the Church at this time. In her policy she adapted herself to meet the desires which she thought were to be met. She made use of philosophy to create her new Christian theology. She borrowed from the constitution of the State in order to give herself a firm organization. Anything of value in its trade and intercourse, its handicraft and art she pressed into her service. By the middle of the third century we find the Church, furnished by the State with all its forces and cultures that were available, ready to enter into the relations of life and ready also to make any concession which did not vitally concern her creed. The Church had "entered the world-state by the open door in order to establish herself permanently in it, to preach Christianity in its streets, to bring it the word of the Gospel, but -- to leave it in possession of all except its gods."[3]

This corruption in the Church was remarked about even by secular historians such as Ammianus Marcellinus[4] who mentions the ambition of the clergy and their delight in

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2. Ibid., p. 7.
3. Adolf Harnack, Monasticism, Its Ideals and History, p. 28 f.
4. I do not deny that those who are ambitious for this thing (the See) ought to spare no effort to secure that they want. The successful candidate is sure of being enriched by the offerings of nations; of riding in carriages through the streets of Rome as soon as his dress is composed with becoming care and elegance; and of giving banquets so profuse and elegant that their entertainment shall surpass the sumptuousness of the imperial tables. Quoted in Workman, op. cit., p. 9.

parading their wealth before the world. Within the pall of the Church itself men like Basil[5] and Gregory of Nazianzen[6] speak of the corruption of doctrine and the ambition of the clergy. Sulpitius Severus (b. 363 A.D.; d. 420 A.D.) quotes a Presbyter to whom money was offered as saying "that the church was not benefitted but rather injured by gold."[7]

It has been customary to date the secularization of the Church from the time when, under Constantine, she began to be a State-Church. But the truth is that the Church had, already at this time, become secularized to a high degree. "Not that she had denied her traditional dogmas, or renounced her characteristic nature; but she had dangerously lowered her standard of life; and the apparatus of external culture with which she had enriched herself had turned to her spiritual harm."[8] Her hierarchic system threatened to stifle her sense of brotherhood and no longer was brotherly love and religious hopes the band that held her together.

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5. The doctrines of the Fathers are despised, the speculations of innovators hold sway in the Church. Men are rather contrivers of cunning systems than theologians. The wisdom of this world has the place of honour, having disposed the boasting of the Cross. The shepherds are driven out; in their place grievous wolves are brought in which harry the flock. Houses of prayer have none to assemble in them; the deserts (the reader will makr this conclusion) are full of mourners. Quoted in Workman, on. cit., p. 9.

6. At this time the most holy order is like to become the most contemptible of all. For the chief seat is gained by evil doing, not by virtue, and the sees belong not to the more worthy, but to the more powerful. Quoted in Workman, on. cit., p. 9.

7. Sulpitius Severus, Dialogue I, Chapter V, The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, 2nd Series, XI, 26.

8. Harnack, on. cit., p. 32.

These religious hopes passed out of the picture when the chiliastic hopes of the early Christians were not realized at the end of the first and the middle of the second century.

Her system of doctrine was becoming so philosophical and so logical that they rivalled the admired systems of the philosophers. The Church was especially influenced by Neo-platonism because she tried to fill the vacancies caused by her loss or change of purely religious ideals with whatever she could derive from this philosophical system. But she ran into difficulty. The god of Neo-platonism was far from the God of the Bible and the Neo-platonic "salvation" by release from the world of sense was very different from the Christian salvation as taught by Christ and His Apostles.

At the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century the Church proved unable to maintain her claims on the moral life of the individual. But she had attained this one point, she was <u>the</u> genuine and authentic foundation of Christ and His Apostles and outside this Church there was no salvation.

The Church could offer peace beyond the grave; but it was unable to offer peace and security in this world. As a result there were some individuals who, becoming tired of the world, fled into the desert. "They fled not the world only, but worldliness in the Church; yet they did not therefore flee <u>from</u> the Church."[9]

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9. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 36.

Sulpitius Severus, who is in an advantageous position to give us a first hand opinion and reaction to the clergy and the church of his day, speaks, in his First Dialogue[10] of the manner in which the most foolish of men think themselves to be the most holy simply because of a little flattery or because of a few powers that are given to them. He waxes eloquently sarcastic about the "man who had been previously accustomed to travel on foot, or at most to ride on the back of an ass, must now ride proudly on frothing steeds." He ridicules the men who formerly lived in simple huts but upon the reception of some small honor build great houses of many rooms with fretted ceilings and painted wardrobes.

Monasticism was a reaction and a protest against this worldliness of the Church. The monk desired a return to the simplicity and purity of earlier days even though the poverty of Christ or the sufferings of the martyrs would accompany this return. When the monk fled from the Church into the desert it was not so much the Church that he fled from but the worldliness in the Church. "It was the snake in the grass that the monk dreaded; the open foe he could meet and crush" is the opinion of Workman.[11]

Before we take up the rise of Monasticism and see how Monasticism met these conditions in the Church, let us note

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10. The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, 2nd Series, XI, 34.
11. Workman, op. cit., p. 10.

briefly the roots of Monasticism.

The root principle of Monasticism is an intense desire for self-surrender. As we shall see this was met in two ways, Monasticism and Monachism. The earliest beginning was Monachism, where man sought complete isolation from the world and the worldliness of the Church by removing himself to some lonely and forsaken spot in the desert and there living a lonely and solitary existence. In Monasticism, which followed this Monachism, there was a community of monks living together in their isolation from the world. In either case the center of their intentions was the concept of self-surrender of the soul to God and the idea of contemplating God. "The ideal was an undisturbed contemplation of God; the means absolute denial of all good things of life -- and among them of church communion."[12]

A good illustration of this ideal is the letter of St. Jerome to Paulinus[13] in which he counsels Paulinus to "forsake the cities and their crowds, live on a small patch of ground, seek Christ in solitude..." This advice to keep out of cities and avoid crowds is repeated throughout this letter. He points his young student to Elijah and Elisha as examples and tells him to accept the sons of Rechab who "abode in tents" as his leaders. He reminds him of the story of these sons of Rechab who were the first to be taken

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12. Harnack, op. cit., p. 44.
13. Jerome, Letter to Paulinus (Letter LVIII). The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, 2nd Series, VI, 120.

on the first Babylonian Captivity "because after the freedom of their lonely life they found confinement in a city as bad as imprisonment." This confinement mentioned is the result of the Chaldean army ravaging the country side and forcing all the people to flee into the cities.

In addition to this idea of contemplation there were two other powerful factors at work which strengthened and influenced Monasticism. These were Stoicism and Neoplatonism.

The philosophy of the Stoics did not wield a tremendous influence in the Church, nor does it as an active agent primarily concern us. But the influences of the Stoic ideals were far reaching and in Monasticism we have a desire to attain the ideal as that of Stoicism, the ideal of ἀπάθεια, or the perfect dominion over all inclinations of nature.[14]

The other influence was Neoplatonism.[15] One of the

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14. Workman, on. cit., p. 37, gives us the following concise analysis of this Stoic ideal as it is found in Monasticism: The monk is represented as having attained the supreme victory. Henceforth he is dead to self, dead to the senses, dead even to human respect and to the desires of distinction; there is but one word that can describe his repose; he is ἀταθής. In the quest of this ἀπάθεια the first step is ἀποταξία or the solemn renunciation of the world. The importance of this first step is generally emphasized in our monastic records by a detailed account of the circumstances which led to 'conversion.'

15. J.L. Neve, A History of Christian Thought, I, 25, concisely summarizes the doctrines of Neo-platonism on the point as follows: Through the union of the soul with matter arises the world of phenomena, and the soul thereby becomes bound up with mortality and evil. The entrance of the soul into the human body constitutes a genuine fall, caused by the soul fixing its gaze upon the earth rather than upon God. While the body is fundamentally evil, still the soul may be

basic premises of Neoplatonism was that there was salvation by releasing one's self from the world of sense, because it is through the five senses that all evil enters into and reigns in the body. "Salvation therefore lies not in regulating our bodily desires but in exterminating them, in outgrowing the life of our senses and leaving it behind while we find our blessedness in the pure life of the spirit."[16]

The soul has the task of severing its connections with the crass materiality of this world and rising higher and higher in gradual stages until it reaches its goal, the return to God. If the soul fails to do this it will return after death into another body, either human, animal, or even vegetable depending upon the nature and depth of its sin. Those souls who have reached the highest stage return entirely to God. Early Monasticism incorporated these ideas into its patterns of life. They sought the renunciation of the world and subjection of the body so as to free the soul in order that it may contemplate God more completely.

Let us now drop into the stream of History and see where Monasticism first became prevalent in the Christian

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benefited by its period of tabernacling in the body. It will thus gain cognizance of evil, and learn to utilize its own powers, thus starting on its return to God.

The means by which this ascending development takes place are the mystical ecstasy and ascetic ethics. In the state of mystical ecstasy the soul transcends itself, rises to the world of ideas where it not only recognizes that it is God but actually becomes God.

16. A.K. Rogers, A Student's History of Philosophy, p. 167.

world. Monasticism first showed itself in Egypt, centering around the city of Alexandria. There are several reasons for this. The Roman Empire was practically in its death-bed agonies. Within the Empire there was bloodshed, sedition, pestilence, and the hungry hordes of men put out of work by the large landholders who thronged the streets crying panem et circenses. Without the Empire there was the barbarian. The only thing that held the Empire together was a decaying and disintegrating culture. This was felt throughout the Empire but felt most keenly in the cities that were the centers of culture. Such a city was Alexandria.

In Alexandria the real center was the catechumen school which in the third century was the "chief fountain of ecclesiastical theology." Here the fundamental ideas of Greek moralists since Socrates were studied. These moralists had turned the old Socratic rule "know thyself" into various directions as a guide for life. Most of them tried to divert the "wise man" from becoming absorbed in the daily life and work-a-day world and to turn the spirit of man inward. Here at Alexandria they taught that the man who was nearest to the Godhead was the man who no longer had need for anything. He had his share in the highest good by peacefully contemplating the world. By freeing one's self from the domination of one's senses and by living in constant meditation of eternal ideas one became worthy to behold that which is invisible and thus to make one's self divine. It was this flight from

the senses and from the world which was taught at the catechumen school by the professors there and especially by Origen whom Harnack considers to be one of the founders of Monasticism.[17] Due largely to this teaching and also to the growing feeling of distress and disgust of everyday life the movement started. And the Church of Constantine with its growing materialistic emphasis among the clergy drove into the solitude of the desert those who wanted to devote themselves to religion.

Coulton[18] finds yet another cause for the beginning of Monasticism in Egypt. He feels that it originated also in the attempt to imitate the pagan ascetics who had lived in Egyptian deserts for many years already at this time.

Thus it was that here in Egypt the first form Christian Monasticism took was the eremitical or solitary type. These men retired into the desert to live alone where they might by bodily punishments such as fasting, scourging, and long periods of prayer bring their senses under subjection and enable themselves to contemplate God and so work out their own salvation.

Before we discuss examples of these various eremites or monachists it might be of interest to the reader to read an account of the effect this solitary life would have upon a person. Coulton gives us two accounts of the effect of

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17. Harnack, op. cit., p. 41.
18. G.G. Coulton, Five Centuries of Religion, I, 16.

the Egyptian desert and solitude upon a man:

> I once had the opportunity of asking Dr. Doughty, after the republication of his Wanderings in Arabia, what had been his worst enemy on that adventurous travel. He replied without hesitation: 'Hunger.' 'Then the Bedouin's diet of dates is unsatisfying?' 'No, but the Bedouin gets so little even of dates; if it were not a climate in which one could scrape oneself a hole in the sand, and starve and dream all day long, it would be impossible to survive.' This was an illuminating word for Egyptian monachism; and Michelet has written a few pages of an autobiography which throw a similar cross-light on our subject. In the period of bodily starvation which succeeded his break-down from overwork, he noted the characteristics of this fasting life; its vagueness, even where it had a singular clearness of its own, like the clearness of a half dream at dawn; its poetry, its wanderings among the clouds and stars, yet its incapacity to bring anything solid back with it to every day life. 'How could I ever have persuaded myself' (he adds, in words marked by Lord Acton) 'that it was the fasts of the Church which created the Gothic Cathedrals!' And thus he applied his own experience of an invalid slowly reviving under the Italian sun to his past studies in medieval history. This life of seclusion and passive contemplation in the eastern deserts, as it attracted those who aimed at the strictest self-discipline, tempted also the undisciplined and the sluggard. A little manual labour sufficed to keep body and soul together; a little weaving of palm baskets or husbandry in an oasis; and sometimes pilgrims came with offerings enough to render even the lightest labor unnecessary.[19]

But to return to our story. The first name which we meet is that of Paul, whom Montalembert calls "the first hermit." Of Paul we know very little save that he was born about 228 in Lower Thebaid of wealthy parents. He was denounced by his brother-in-law to the authorities as a Christian and as a consequence fled for safety to the desert. Here he lived in a cavern shaded by a palm tree

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19. Ibid., p. 16.

and near to a spring of water. If we accept Jerome's chronology he died in his hundred and thirteenth year about the year 342. Here in the desert Paul spent his life in prayer and contemplation of God. Paul, the most illustrious of the anchorites, is considered by many to be the founder of the eremetical life which later on Anthony adopted, and transformed into the coenobitic. Anthony met Paul shortly before he died, and received from him the tunic of palm leaves which was Paul's dress. This tunic Anthony wore on Easter and Pentecost. Paul did not collect a band of disciples around himself, and it is doubtful if he had many visitors. Nevertheless his fame seems to have spread abroad to the extent that many sought to imitate him and anchoretic cells sprang up here and there in the deserts even before Anthony adopted this mode of life.

The next great figure which we meet in this panorama of early monastic life is that of St. Anthony, the founder of the second step in the ladder of monastic development, the coenobitic[20] life.

St. Anthony was born at Coma in Upper Egypt of wealthy parents about the year 250 or 251. At the age of eighteen he became an orphan and was left with a large fortune. He received a fair education. There is doubt whether or not he was acquainted with Greek and Latin. Yet he showed an intimate knowledge of the Scriptures which could only have

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20. From κοίνος , common, and βιόω , to live.

been obtained by diligent study; no mere listening to the lections in the church would have given him this knowledge of the Bible. In all probability Athanasius' statement as to his ignorance of letters meant that he considered him not actually illiterate but having a lack of culture.

The turning point in Anthony's life came at the age of twenty when he heard the text of the Gospel read in a church, "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell what thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven."[21] This text he applied to himself. He sold the three hundred acres of rich land which was his and after giving the price of it to the poor he left the city and plunged into the desert to seek God and to find salvation in Him.

At first he lived alone. He engaged in a constant struggle with temptations of the devil and of his own flesh. At last, by fasting and macerations and especially by prayer, which consumed his whole nights he succeeded in subduing and overcoming the sensual ardour of his youth. At the age of thirty-five the battle was gained and his body was subdued. Now he had attained freedom of the soul.

He then crossed the Nile and went deeper into the desert. For the next twenty years he lived in the ruins of an old castle. Guericke mentions that "here in this solitude, his character was matured by prayer and silent contemplation of nature, of himself, and of the grace of God in Christ."[22]

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21. Matthew 19:21.
22. H.E.F. Guericke, A Manual of Church History: The Ancient Church. tr. by Shedd, p. 286.

It was during this time that he finally yielded to the earnest requests of others that he become their teacher and spiritual counsellor. So great was the admiration and consequent disturbance of the multitudes who flocked out to see him that he finally left this residence for one more distant and inaccessible in the mountains. In this place he established himself and it is here that he labored for the rest of his life raising his own scanty food by the labor of his own hands.

While at this last mentioned place particularly, Anthony received many pilgrims of all nations who brought to him their problems and their infirmities cured. "The Neo-Platonic philosophers carried their doubts and objections to him, and found in him the subtile and vigorous defender, ingenious and eloquent, of Redemption."[23] Many gathered around him and remained to live similar lives as he and to obey him as father and head. Thus he became the father and head of all the anchorites of the Thebaid. He guided them in their new life of manual labor and cultivation of their souls. They still lived separately, each in his own dwelling but for the sake of order Anthony arranged these cells like tents in an encampment or houses along a street. Because of this arrangement these lines of single cells came to be known as λαῦραι, "streets," or "lanes." After a while the entire coenobitic establishment was known by this name.

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23. De. Montalembert, The Monks of the West, I, 306.

He left this establishment only twice in his long life. The first time was in the year 311 when Maximin renewed his persecution in Egypt. Anthony came into the city of Alexandria in order to encourage and give strength to the confessors before the tribunal, and to wait upon the prisoners in their prisons. So great was the veneration of him that no one dared to lay a hand on him and he was allowed to pass to and fro through the city unmolested and uninterrupted. He then returned to his λαῦραι in the desert.

Once more he ventured out into the world. This time it was in the year 325 when Anthony again appeared in Alexandria. The reason was that the civil powers of this city were furthering the cause of Arianism. Anthony came forth from the desert to combat this heresy and we are told that "in a few days, more heathen were converted to Christ than had been in a year before."[24] He again returned to his cell in the wilderness where even more followers flocked to him. When he died in 356 at the age of one hundred and five the desert was studded with hermitages spread out in every direction.

The next great step in the development of Monasticism was taken by Pachomius. Up to this time there was no single rule which the various monks were to follow. There were various sets of rules written by some of the anchorites but there was by no means a wide-spread following of them.

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24. Guericke, op. cit., p. 287.

Each man more or less lived his own life and made his own spiritual sacrifices to God on the basis of his own conscience. This great step taken by Pachomius consisted of a rule formulated by him under which a group of monks could live in what is called today a monastic order.

Pachomius was born about the year 292. He served as a soldier in the army and was converted to Christianity in his early manhood. He was baptized after he received his discharge from the army of Constantine and at once adopted an ascetic life under the direction of the hermit Palaemon. As a monk he practiced a discipline much more severe than that to which he was accustomed in the army. For fifteen years he never laid down but slept standing up leaning against a wall or half seated on a stone bench. He performed the hardest labor, sometimes working as a carpenter or a mason and even as a cleaner of pits.

He founded at Tabenne, a little above the first cataract of the Nile, the first monastery, or rather a congregation of eight monasteries. Each of these was governed by an abbot but they were all united by close ties and all were under the same general superior. It was for this group of monasteries which he founded that Pachomius wrote his rule, the first written monastic rule in our sense of the term.

The monks all lived in cells, three monks to a cell. In other Egyptian foundations the usual number was two and

in Syria the occupant of the cell had no partner. A group of cells clustered together constituted a laura, each of which had but one common meeting place where they ate and assembled for other purposes. The work and food were apportioned to each individual according to his physical strength. Those who were permitted exceptional strictness in fasting were not assigned work which was of a heavier and more strenuous nature. Their clothing was a close linen tunic and a white goatskin as an upper garment. They had to wear these continually at work, while eating, and in bed. The only time they laid aside this goatskin cloak was when they were assembled for the Eucharist when they wore their hoods in addition to their tunic. They were divided, according to the intellectual and spiritual proficiency, into twenty-four groups or classes. These were designated by the letters of the Greek alphabet, the lowest class, being the least intelligent by the simplest letter ι, and the most intelligent class by the most complex Greek letter ξ. Each group was then sub-divided into groups of ten and a hundred, each under the direct supervision of decurions and centurians, and all under the general supervision of the Abbot, who himself in turn was subject to the Superior or Archimandrite of the mother-house. The finances of each house were managed by a steward (οἰκονόμος) who was accountable to the treasurer or steward at Tabennae. Bread and water made up their usual fare. Their luxuries

were oil and salt and a few occasional fruits and vegetables. They ate their meals in silence except when lections were read to them from the Bible by an appointed reader. While at their meal each man so arranged his hood that he could not see the man sitting next to him or be seen by him. They assembled twice a day for common prayer and met for communion on Saturdays and Sundays. There was a probationary period of three years during which the novice was confined to performing the simple tasks of labor assigned to him. He was not permitted to enter into actual study until he had passed this probationary period. Their work was tilling the soil in order to supply their simple wants. They wove mats and baskets and with the proceeds of the sale of these they purchased such necessities as they were unable to produce by their direct labor. As time went on the scope of the labors was increased and in the cloisters we find smiths, tailors, boatbuilders, tanners, and so forth at work. Pachomius induced his sister to found a similar convent for nuns governed by the same rules. This convent was subject to the authority of a visitor appointed by himself as the superior of the whole institution.

Pachomius died about 348, at the age of fifty-six. This Rule of Pachomius seems to have been very popular with the people of Egypt. We read that when he died he had no fewer than fourteen hundred monks in his own coenobium and seven thousand monks under his authority. After

his death the popularity of his Rule continued to spread. Montalembert mentions that in 356 a traveller found ten thousand monks and twenty thousand virgins consecrated to God in the town of Oxyrynchus alone.[25]

But even after the time of the adoption of the Rule of Pachomius as the standard for all those who wished to retire from life in the world and give themselves over completely to the worship of God there were those who instead of placing themselves in a coenobium preferred to work out their salvation alone and oft times in very peculiar ways. Perhaps the most well known of these men is Symeon Stylites. He began his monastic life in the year 413 as an enclosed anchorite. He dwelt for forty days in a cave with his right leg fastened to a stone by means of an iron chain. At another time he dug a trench in a garden and each day would bury himself in it up to his head. This he continued for a whole summer. He became most well known for his "stunt" of mounting a pillar which was, in the course of years raised from four cubits to forty cubits in height and remained there for thirty-seven years. From this pillar he dictated letters to his disciples which were looked on as authoritative pronouncements. Great crowds gathered to hear him and to gaze with admiration as he, standing on his pillar touched his feet with his forehead 1244 times in succession, or as he stood for a whole night

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25. Montalembert, op. cit., I, 315.

at a time with his hands outstretched to heaven. Two months before his death great crowds gathered around his pillar to hear his last words. When he died, September 2, 459, he was carried to Antioch with all the imperial pomp of a deceased king and buried there. His pillar was enclosed in a splendid church which no woman was ever allowed to enter.

There were others also, for example the saint Thalelaeus who spent ten years sitting in a tub which was suspended in mid-air from poles. He was a rather large man so he had to sit bent with his head on his knees. In his Vita Pauli Jerome speaks with admiration of a saint who lived in an old cistern and existed on five figs a day. There was also Macarius of Alexandria who is a good example of how far some of these men would go in their desire to bring their body and senses under subjection in order to carry out the Neoplatonic and Stoic ideals of salvation. One day Macarius was stung by a gnat and in his impatience killed it. When he realized that he had passed up an opportunity to bear mortification he resolved to live for six months in the marshes of the Nile near Scete where the region abounded in gnats "whose sting can pierce the hides of boars." When he returned to civilization his skin was so thickened and toughened that people at first did not recognize him. This same Macarius lived in a windowless cell of sundried mud in Nitria except during Lent when he made his abode in

an underground lair in the "Cells" which were so narrow that it was impossible for him to stretch out his feet. He once visited the Tabennisi for the purpose of seeing for himself "their great method of life." "The monks murmured with astonishment and anger at the sight of a saint whose 'fleshlessness' (ἄσαρκος ἄνθρωπος - they called him) put their lesser austerities to shame."[26]

There was also another class of these monks whom we should mention if only for the sake of completeness. These are the inclusi. They would shut themselves up in a cave or cell and remain there for as high as eighty years. When they entered into the cell, the bishop would seal the opening with his ring after which it was not opened until the death of the incumbent. The only opening usually allowed was a small window through which food could be passed to the person inside. Many times, in addition to the restriction of motion, they would add the restriction of silence. Palladius mentions an inclusa at Rome who spent twenty-five years in silence.

Not all of these lives were spent in useless asceticism. While it is true that many of the monks were of no benefit to anyone but themselves many of them performed useful functions and contributions to the society of the time. "Many of them wrote valuable contributions to the polemics or theology of the times."[27] Montalembert tells us that in

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26. Workman, op. cit., p. 51.
27. Ibid., p. 51.

the region of Arsinoe, the modern Suez, there was an abbot, Serapion by name, who ruled over about ten thousand monks that he sent out in harvest time to cut the corn.[28] The monasteries also carried on much charity. The Xenodochium, or asylum for the poor and strangers, was a necessary part of every monastery of that age.

We now bring this brief account of the Rise of Monasticism to a close. At this time there were many monasteries scattered throughout Egypt and many more were to spring from these roots and spread throughout the world. Shortly after this time St. Basil wrote his Rule which was the accepted standard and Rule for Eastern Monasticism. In the West John Cassian, about 410, compiled his Institutes and Collations, which were collections of examples of holy men and monastic precepts. About 530 Caesarius of Arles compiled a Rule for his monks to follow. Upon these foundations and the foundations laid in Egypt arose the greatest of monastic Rules and of monastic orders, that of St. Benedict, and his order the Benedictines. But this is the subject for our next chapter.

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28. Montalembert, op. cit., p. 315.

Chapter II

The Founding of Regulated Monasticism

The times were evil. Both in the world and in the church all was in a state of unrest, decay, and amorality. There was the feeling of a definite need for some force which should bring order and righteousness into this chaos. Such a force came in the sixth century initiated by Benedict of Nursia, contained in his Rule, and put into practice by his Order. And Benedict did not come too soon.

St. Benedict, a contemporary of Boethius and Cassiodorus, witnessed the "devastation wrought in Italy by the Ostrogothic conquest of Odoacer, and finally by the Byzantine armies."[1] Decades before this time Alaric and his Goths had conquered Rome and since that time there had been wave upon wave of barbarians sweeping across Europe. All Europe was in a state of turmoil as these hordes slowly but inevitably marched westward. Europe was threatened with losing her whole culture and civilization to the incoming hordes. Was there nothing that could stop them? The answer to this pressing question was the Benedictine Order which by its missionary methods of infiltration and cultural as well as spiritual education stemmed not the tide of

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1. F.J. Tschan, H.J. Grimm, J.D. Squires, Western Civilization, I, 105.

the barbarians but the tide of barbarism.

Nor had the Church escaped this chaos. Many of the barbaric hordes, if they were not entirely pagan, were Arian and this brought chaos into the theology of the Church. It is also evident in the monastic systems, if we may call them that at this time. For years they had been a source of distress both to the Church and the State. As early as 390 Theodosius the Great had given the order that the monks were to confine themselves to deserts and solitudes. After two years he repaled this law so far as to allow them to enter into cities. But they abused this privilege and in 466 the Emperors Leo and Anthemius issued an edict which forbade any monk to go beyond the walls of their monastery for any reason, the only exception being the apocrisiarii or legal officiers who were on legitimate business. Even these were warned not to engage in any religious disputes, stir up the people or to preside over an assembly of any kind.[2] Even before this time Jerome spoke with disfavor about a certain class of monks called the Remoboth living in his province, probably Syria or Pannonia, who wander about under no rule and live lives which are a disgrace to monasticism and to their monastic vows.[3]

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2. Cf. H.C. Lea, History of Sacerdotal Celibacy, I, 119 f.
3. "Thirdly, there is a class called Remoboth, a very inferior and little regarded type, though in my own province it is the chief if not the only sort. These live together in twos and threes, but seldom in larger numbers, and are

St. Benedict reiterates a similar charge about two classes of monks living at his time, the Sarabites, who live either alone or in groups of two and three and to whom "the pleasure of carrying out their particular desires is their law;" and the Gyrovagi or Wanderers, who move about all their lives going from one monastery to another and who are "slaves to their own wills and to the enticements of gluttony. In every way they are worse than the Sarabites, and of their wretched way of life it is better to be silent than to speak."[4]

St. Gregory in his letters gives such an impression also of the monks in sixth century Italy. The reason for this falling away from the original monastic standards as set down by Pachomius and the early founders of monasticism may be that the monks were trying to follow a life hard enough in oriental lands and almost impossible to live in the conditions, climatic and otherwise, which prevailed in Europe. Nevertheless such was the prevailing condition of

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bound by no rule, but do exactly as they choose. A portion of their earnings they contribute to a common fund, out of which food is provided for all. In most cases they reside in cities and strongholds; and as though it is their workmanship which is holy, and not their life, all that they sell is extremely dear. They often quarrel because they are unwilling, while supplying their own food, to be subordinate to others. It is true that they compete with each other in fasting; they make what should be a private concern an occasion for a triumph. In everything they study effect: their sleeves are loose, their boots bulge, their garb is of the coarsest. They are always sighing or visiting virgins, or sneering at the clergy; yet when a holiday comes, they make themselves sick - they eat so much." Jerome, Epistle XXII, Chapter 34 (The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, VI, 37).

4. The Rule of St. Benedict, Chapter I. Translated by Cardinal Gasquet.

monasticism in western Europe when Benedict founded his Order and wrote his Rule. That there was a pressing need for these cannot be denied.

Benedict was born at Nursia, now called Norcia, in a town among the Appenines at the foot of Monte Sibilline, in 480. He was born of an old Italian family. Some biographers associate him with the Anicia gens but with very slight warrant.[5] At Nursia, no doubt, he acquired his early training in the Holy Scriptures, grammar, pagan literature, and elementary mathematics. Later on he went to Rome and entered the regular University course of the seven liberal arts. But he was not satisfied here. The frivolous and vicious atmosphere of the capital city was not to his taste. Because of this Benedict fled from Rome to a solitary gorge formed by the Anio about forty miles from the city. Here in a dark and inaccessible grotto near Subiaco he found the seclusion for which he desired. During this time he was supplied with food by a monk named Romanus, who lived in a nearby monastery ruled by Abbot Deodatus. Romanus would let the food down to Benedict by a rope tied to a small basket with a small bell attached to give him notice that it was there. The story is told that Benedict would become so engrossed in his meditations that he did not know which day it was and even had to be told by this monk who brought him food when it was Easter.

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5. H.H. Howorth, Saint Gregory the Great, p. 62 f.

He adopted monks dress and lived a life of such rigorous asceticism that his fame soon spread. Many sought to join him and Benedict accordingly founded twelve monasteries, each with twelve monks and an abbot. The rest and more devoted of his disciples stayed with him at the cave at Subiaco known even today by its name of that age, Sacro Speco.

But with his fame came also jealousy. A nearby priest sought to poison him and tried by various means to make life extremely uncomforable for him and his followers. This same priest, Florentius, sent seven lewd dancing girls into the area of the monastery to secude the monks by their gestures and sports. Because of all these happenings Benedict decided to withdraw from the place where he had lived and labored for thirty years. We are told that this priest, Florentius, was overjoyed by his success in causing Benedict to leave but that "his smile of triumph quickly faded when suddenly his room fell in ruins about him and he was killed."[6]

Benedict and some of his closest and most famous followers travelled fifty miles away and settled on a hill overlooking the meandering river Lirio, now known the world over as Monte Cassino.

Here at Monte Cassino Benedict lived fifteen years longer and then died supported on his feet and with his hands extended to heaven praying. This was probably in the

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6. E.S. Duckett, The Gateway to the Middle Ages, p. 487.

year 543 or 544. He was about 63 or 64 years old at the time of his death. He was buried in the same grave as his sister, Scholastica, who had also taken up the religious life and lived in a cell close to the monastery.

Benedict was never a priest but remained a monk all of his life. At this time a monk meant "a layman who had taken vows, was tonsured and devoted to religion, and living with others in community, according to a Rule."[7]

This order which Benedict founded grew with amazing rapidity. By the time of the Council of Constance there were no less than 15,070 Benedictine houses.

The reason for the rapid spread of the Benedictine Order and for its lasting qualities lies largely in the Rule of St. Benedict.[8] In his Rule Benedict stressed the inner principle and it is "in this emphasis of inner principle, rather than in any enforcement of a definite organization, that we find its secret of power."[9] An organization would become old and useless once the reason for its existence had passed. Having fulfilled its role in meeting the crisis that arose it would become decadent and obsolete when this crisis had ended. But an inner principle can change and adapt itself to meet changing conditions.

At the time of the writing of this Rule there was no

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7. Nowerth, op. cit., p. 65.
8. For a summary of the Rule of St. Benedict, Cf. Appendix A.
9. H.B. Workman, The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal, p. 148.

legislative work in existence which could meet the demands of the day. Justinian's Corpus Juris was not only old, it was on the verge of becoming an anachronism. The social conditions for which this Roman Law was designed had disappeared. It was inapplicable to the social conditions that existed after the Barbarian Invasions had submerged the Hellenic culture and the Roman jurisdiction. The Corpus Juris lay hidden until the tenth and eleventh centuries when it was discovered again. After this discovery it exerted a profound effect upon the legal thought and practice in the society of these centuries which affected both the Church and the State. In view of this we must bear in mind that the Rule of St. Benedict was "a new kind of legislation which broke new ground and, in breaking it, fulfilled an urgent need."[10]

Benedict, himself, tells us the purpose of his Rule. "We are therefore now about to institute a school for the service of God, in which we hope nothing harsh nor burdensome will be ordained."[11] We may see this moderation of Benedict when we compare his Rule and the pattern of life he demanded with the monasticism of the earlier period in Egypt. The monks in the desert exposed themselves to the elements and slept as little as possible. In the Rule of St. Benedict provision is made that the monks are to receive

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10. A.J. Toynbee, A Study of History, III, 266, n. 1.
11. The Rule of St. Benedict, "Prologue."

clothing suitable to the locality and that they are to wear heavier clothing in winter than in summer. The abbot is given instruction that the clothes are to be of the proper size for each monk.[12] In addition they are to receive the proper amount of bedding to insure comfort, a mattress, blanket, coverlet, and pillow.[13] They are to sleep in separate beds and again the abbot is instructed that each monk is to receive bedding "fitted to the condition of his life."[14] As far as their meals are concerned there was none of the semi-starvation of which the earlier monks were so proud. Two cooked dishes are provided each monk and if there are any fruits or young vegetables served these are to constitute a third dish. In addition each monk received a pound of bread daily. Again the provision is made that in the case of hard labor the allowance may be increased at the discretion of the abbot. In the case of those who are weak or sick additional food and meat may be given to them, since all others are not to eat the flesh of quadrupeds. They are allowed a pint of wine daily but this allowance, too, is to be governed also by local circumstances such as the amount of labor or the heat of summer.[15] Examples of the moderation of the Rule of St. Benedict are numerous but these few will give the reader an

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12. Ibid., Chapter LV.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid., Chapter XXII.
15. Ibid., Chapter XXXIX, XL.

idea as to this point.

St. Benedict instituted three vows. These are the vows of stability, conversion and obedience. In conversion the monk attempts to reach the perfection of the evangelical counsels and by God's grace to become a man of God, the perfect Christian. In the vow of obedience he binds himself to an entire subjection of his will to the will and command of his superior.

The most important of these three vows and the one which is original with St. Benedict is the vow of stability. "This is the key to the spirit of monasticism as interpreted in his rule, for by it the monastery is erected into a family, to which the monk binds himself forever."[16] By this vow Benedict does away with the wandering monks which he mentions with disfavor in the first chapter of his Rule. It means that the monk must live in a community, the same community in which he made his profession and in which he received his training. The Congress of Presidents of the Black Monk congregations held in Rome in May, 1907 give this definition of the vow of stability:

> By the vow of stability, the monk attaches himself to the monastery of his profession, he associates himself to the monastic family there existing, and promises he will never withdraw his neck from the yoke of regular observance according to the Rule of St. Benedict.[17]

The various commentators argue among themselves whether

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16. Cardinal Gasquet, Monastic Life in the Middle Ages, p. 202.

17. Procellum, 15, cf. Quaestiones, 17. Quoted in C. Butler, Benedictine Monachism, p. 124.

this means local stability, that is living in one place for the rest of one's natural life, or merely stability under the Rule, that is one may leave and go to another Benedictine monastery with his abbot's permission. Undoubtedly this latter was a possibility for we find various forms of dismissal.[18] In such a case he would not be breaking this vow of stability. The vow of stability was iniated by Benedict and for a number of years was practically reserved only for the Benedictine Order, so that it came to be known as the "Benedictine vow."

The only other time a monk may leave the monastery, other than when he is transferring to a different monas-

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18. J.C. Ayer, A Source Book for Ancient Church History, p. 641 f., lists several such formulas:

"To all Bishops and all orders of the Holy Church, and to all faithful people. Be it known unto you that I have given license to this brother, John or Paul by name, that where he finds it agreeable to dwell in order to lead the monastic life, he shall have license to dwell for the benefit of himself and the monastery."

"I, a humble abbot. You should know, beloved, that this brother, John or Paul by name, has asked us to give him permission to dwell with you. And, because we know that you observe the Rule of the order, we assent to his dwelling with you. I now commend him to you, that you may treat him as I would, and for him you are to render an account to God as I would have to render."

"To the venerable father, the abbot of (...) monastery, the abbot of (...) monastery greeting with a holy kiss. Since our monastery has been burdened with various embarrassments and poverty, we beseech your brotherliness that you will receive our brother to dwell in your monastery, and we commend him by these letters of commendation and dismission to your jurisdiction and obedience."

Alternate conclusion: "We send him from our obedience to serve the Lord under your obedience."

tery, is when he is sent on a mission by his superior. Even when absent from the monastery he is under the authority of the abbot. It was customary for the monk to return, if possible, in time for the last canonical hour, Compline.[19] If this were not possible they were not to enter the monastery where food and beds were provided for them as if they were guests. On their journey they were not allowed to eat anything unless the abbot permitted them to do so. Schroll speaks of three conditions which the commentator Hildemar enumerates as being conditions under which the abbot would give his permission. These are: if a friend who is of a religious character invites him to eat in a becoming manner with reading and in the fear of God; if by declining the invitation of some man of power he will be offended and by his indignation bring injury or loss on the monastery; or if it is necessary to eat, otherwise the monk would be without food or a place to eat.[20]

There is one more point in the Rule of St. Benedict to which we should give attention. This is Benedict's attitude toward labor. In the chapter entitled "Of daily manual labor," Benedict makes the statement that "Idleness is an enemy of the soul. Because this is so the brethren ought to be occupied at specific times in manual labor, and at other fixed times in holy reading."[21] Six hours of the

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19. For a summary of the canonical hours and average daily life in a monastery Cf. Appendix B.
20. Sister M.A. Schroll, Benedictine Monasticism, p. 89.
21. The Rule of St. Benedict. Chapter XLVIII.

day should be given to manual labor and two to reading. This manual labor was predominately labor in the fields and gardens, or the housework connected with the kitchen and other phases of a large community. It must be remembered also that many of the monks of the Benedictine Order were men of high birth. These men labored in the fields along with the men of the most common and low social level. Thus Benedict raised manual labor to a place of high regard.

This stress on labor and physical work had its effect. The danger of Monasticism before this time had been that it degenerated into either Gnostic extremes or into idle self-centeredness, which often instead of subduing temptation only served to increase it. This "laborare est orare" principle of Benedict was a factor of immense importance in the history of civilization. For a thousand years Europe was dotted with organized communities where the individual profited little and the community itself gained all. We will return to this subject later when we discuss the contribution the Benedictine Order made to the world.

In addition to their manual labor the monks were required to read approximately two hours a day. It was not so much for intellectual pursuits that Benedict aimed, this was the work of his contemporary, Cassiodorus, but that the monks better themselves by reading and understanding what they read. The commentator Hildeman describes the distribution of books to the monks. At the beginning of

Lent the librarian brought all the books into the chapter and placed them on a carpet which was spread out on the floor. When the chapter meeting is over the librarian reads the names of each of the brothers who has a book and as his name is called he steps forward and places the book he has been reading on this carpet. Then the prior takes up the book and questions the brother on the content of the book to see whether or not he has studiously read the book. If he can answer the questions he is then asked to suggest what book would be useful to him and this is given him, unless the abbot knows that it is unsuited to his needs, in which case he substitutes another and explains his reason for doing so. If, on the other hand, the monk shows by his inability to answer the questions that he has not read the book studiously, it is returned to him again. If the abbot knows that despite the brother's diligence he cannot understand the book, another is given to him.[22]

Thus the monastic institutions became the centers of learning during the Middle Ages until the rise of the universities. Their libraries were the only places in which the classics were preserved. As an example we may use the monastery which Benedict himself founded, Monte Cassino. In the Laurentian Library at Florence is a copy of Tacitus which was copied at Monte Cassino. "Had that copy perished,

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22. Schroll, on. cit., p. 120 f.

Books xi-xvi of the Annals and Books i-v of the Histories would have been irretrievably lost."[23] In addition to this copy of Tacitus, Apuleius' Metamorphoses and Florida were copied about this same time and bound with the manuscript of Tacitus. This is the only source for both these works. The "golden era" of Monte Cassino came with the accession of Abbot Desiderius in 1058. Under him many additional books were copied and placed in the library. These include books in theology, several Biblical books, Latin classics, historical books such as Josephus' Wars of the Jews, Erchempert's continuation of the History of the Lombards, the History of Anastasius Bibliothecarius, Lives of the Fathers, and many other works. Thompson devotes several pages to an account of the library at Monte Cassino to which the reader is referred.[24] There is another side to this picture. Many of the books which have come down to us through preservation in the monastic libraries were saved for posterity not through conscious effort but through accident and mere chance. The chief purpose of the founders of Monasticism was not to enrich the literary heritage of the world but to insure that the daily life of the monks be one of purity. To this end the time of the monk was filled with pursuits intended to keep his attention fixed upon spiritual matters and his leisure hours with innocent act-

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23. J.W. Thompson, The Medieval Library, p. 174.
24. Ibid., p. 175 ff.

ivities. One of these innocent activities was copying. What was valued was not what was written but the occupation of writing. This is evidenced by the many palimpsests, which were sometimes erased not once or twice, but as many as six times.

For the preservation of knowledge and learning we must go to the contemporary of Benedict, Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus. He was born at Squillace in 470. At one time he was chief minister to the Ostrogothic princes of Italy and for many years served Theodoric the Great and his family as tutor and minister. In 540 he withdrew from this thankless life and founded the monastery of Viviers in Bruttium. Cassiodorus' principal aim in founding this monastery was to provide an asylum for scholarship and for the humanities in a barbarous and destructive era in European history. He established a school wherein the sacred, patristic, and classical writings might be preserved and studied. "To him the ideal monk was a student, primarily of Divine wisdom, but also of the productions of human genius."[25] Therefore he collected what must have been in that time an immense and varied library which included manuscripts for every class of students. He collected the best works available in several fields, theology, history, music, geography, and even scientific agriculture. Not only was his

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25. Dutton, Gregory the Great, ii, 170-172. Quoted in Butler, op. cit., p. 332.

enthusiasm directed toward the acquisition of such manuscripts but also toward their propagation by transcription. Thus he employed large numbers of monks in the pursuit of copying these manuscripts. "Cassiodorus was the first man in Italy to recognize the possibilities of the convent as a school of liberal culture. He opened for the Italian religious an entirely new sphere of activity."[26]

The Benedictine Order made contributions to the world in several fields. For the sake of brevity we shall discuss only a few of them.

As we have mentioned before this was the period following the barbarian invasions. Uncultured, uncivilized, and pagan peoples poured into Europe from the East. This vast flood of "undesirables" undermined the social and cultural standards of Europe. They were too numerous to be exterminated and too culturally destructive to be tolerated. They must be changed. To many it seemed that monasticism by its quiet program of infiltration among these barbarians, setting up well-regulated and ordered communities within their midst, was the force needed to convert and change the basic modes of life and thought of these uncivilized hordes. The only answer to this problem was that of missionary work among these people which would not only change their belief towards God but also their attitudes and patterns of life. The Benedictines were the

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26. Ibid., p. 333.

great missionaries of the Early Medieval period. For the most part they worked in the Teutonic races of northwestern Europe although they also worked among the Slavs of central Europe and in England.

The first Benedictine mission to the heathen was that sent to England in 596. This was a group of monks under the leadership of St. Augustine. Modern scholarship endorses the traditional belief that both St. Gregory and St. Augustine were Benedictine monks. In a short time they converted the Jutish kingdom of Kent. The king of the Kents, Ethelbert, was baptized on the eve of Whitsunday, June 1, 597. While it is true that the greater part of England was converted by the Irish monks of St. Columba from Iona, nevertheless this conversion was a victory for Benedictine Monasticism. In this whole area Benedictine monasteries sprang up.[27]

In 678 St. Wilfrid was shipwrecked on the coast of Friesland, the land bordering on the North Sea and extending from the mouth of the Rhine to the Weser River and including Holland and part of Hanover. Another Benedictine missionary to the Frisians was Frank Wulfram. Frisia was also the scene of the beginning and the end of the labors of St. Boniface (715 and 775 when he met his martyrdom). During the next fifty years two bishops, the Benedictines, Liudger and Willehad labored in this field.

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27. Workman, on. cit., p. 174.

The famous "Apostle of Germany," St. Boniface (Winfrid) began his work among the Germans in the year 719. For thirty-five years he worked in various parts of Germany converting the pagan tribes to Christianity. He brought the Gospel to the Hessians and Saxons, wholly pagan races. He completed the conversion of the Bavarians, Thuringians and Franconians and organized the church life of the Frankish Kingdom.

The first serious attempt to introduce Christianity into Denmark was made by St. Ansgar, a Benedictine of Corbie near Amiens. In 830 he became the first Christian missionary to Sweden. He has received the title of the "Apostle of Sweden." "There is reason for believing that Sigfrid or Sigward, the first Christian missionary and bishop of Norway, <u>cir.</u> 1000, who also laboured in northern Sweden, was an English Benedictine from Glastonbury."[28]

Among the missionaries to the western Slavs we find such names as the Bavarian Benedictine Boso, bishop of Merseburg "Apostle of the Wends," and Vicelin, bishop of Oldenburg, also a Benedictine.

Butler sums up the Benedictine missionary efforts with the statement that "in common parlance the title Apostle of the English (shared by St. Gregory and St. Augustine), Apostle of Holland, Apostle of Germany, Apostle of Sweden, Apostle of the Wends, Apostle of the Prussians, are all

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28. Butler, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 317.

borne by Benedictine monks."[29]

The symbol of the monks was not the cross alone, but also the plow. In their missionary work they taught the barbarian tribes among whom they labored the best methods of agriculture that were known at that time. Toynbee says that the Benedictine movement was "on the economic plane, an agricultural revival: the first successful revival of agriculture in Italy, after innumerable abortive attempts, since the destruction of the ancient Italian peasant-economy in the Hannibalic War seven-and-a-half centuries earlier."[30] To the monks and their monasteries established in isolated and often virgin forests and wilderness was due much of the clearing of land and improvement in methods of agriculture. In the midst of barbarism these monasteries were centers of orderly and settled life and examples of the best agricultural methods. They performed the pioneer work in Transalpine Europe of clearing the forests, draining the marshes and creating pastures and fields much the same as the French and English backwoodsmen did in the beginnings of our country. "The earliest use of marl in improving the soil is attributed to them."[31] Under the Carolingians the monks were given the task of building the roads and keeping them in repair. Also they were the pioneers in industry and commerce until the

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29. Ibid., p. 318.
30. Toynbee, on. cit., III, 266.
31. Latourette, The Thousand Years of Uncertainty, p. 380.

eleventh century when the town which began to rise at this time took over these pursuits.

So far we have mentioned the contributions which the Benedictine Order made in the fields of Education, Missions, and Agriculture. Before we close our discussion of this monastic order we should mention an example of their contribution to the arts. Both in architecture and in music they made definite contributions. The monks were the great builders in Early Europe. They built the great monasteries and churches, some of which are still standing. To them the barbarians and the world at large are indebted for the science of building.

In the field of Music their influence is also to be felt. Benedict in his Rule provided that there be some musical education, particularly for the boys in the monastery. He even makes the provision that those who do not sing in tune are to receive corporal punishment.[32] The great musicologist Lang makes the statement that "monastic communities, organized under rules set up by various orders, exerted a penetrating influence on the spiritual, economic, and musical life of the Church."[33] (italics ours)

The Benedictine Order came at a time when it was needed and needed badly. Monasticism, unregulated and nonpurposeful,

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32. The Rule of St. Benedict, Chapter XLV.
33. P.H. Lang, Music in Western Civilization, p. 45.

was a detriment to the Church. Rather than performing a service to the Church it was tearing down its reputation and destroying its effectiveness. The Rule of St. Benedict and his Order which followed this Rule brought organization and purpose into the institution of Monasticism and transformed it into an organization useful both to the Church and to the world. By the labors of the Benedictine monks among the barbarians the place of Europe as a Christian, cultured country was insured. The heritage which we of later generations can trace to the monks of the Early Middle Ages is tremendous. They took an uncivilized and uncultured horde of barbarians and by patient work among them transformed them into a society from which sprang our own. To these humble servants of God we owe much for the preservation and application of the sciences of building, architecture, agriculture, and preservation of literature and materials which formed the basis for much of the scholarship of later centuries.

Chapter III

The Military Orders

We pass now to the twelfth century. The Holy Land was in the possession of the Turk. The city where our Savior spent the last week of His life was trodden by the feet of infidels and pagans. Pilgrims coming from Europe to the Holy Land had to encounter these Turks who often molested and robbed them. There was an appeal from the Eastern emperor Alexius I for help against the Turk. This could not go unheeded. In 1095 at the Council of Clermont the Pope, Urban II, called upon Christendom to meet this appeal and this was the spark that started a fire of warfare which lasted from 1096 to 1270 - the Crusades. It is not our purpose to discuss the Crusades but rather to take up only a small part of this great study, the Military Orders which flourished and found their origin in the period of the Crusades.

What were the reasons which brought the Knights Hospitallers and Knights Templars into existence? What needs did these men clad in their white or black mantles meet? It is this subject which will engage our attention for the next few pages.

Not all of the Crusaders reached the Holy Land the stalwart and energetic men they were when they left their

home land. Many were sick even before their first meeting in battle with the Turks. Countless others were wounded in battle and in dire need of medical care and attention. But who was to supply this? The armies of the Crusaders did not have a medical corps as do our modern armies.

Behind the battle area the highways were open to all manner of pillage and highway robbery. Remember that at these times the Military Police were not only unheard of but also undreamed of. All such groups as these required planning, coordination, regulation, and such as was a non-entity in the rabble that constituted the armies of the Crusaders. But even though the armies, valiant fighters that they were, could not meet these needs they were still there and had to be met. They were met, by a group which falls under the classification of Monastic, the Military Orders. Let us now turn our attention to these Orders and see their history and their contributions.

A. The Knights of St. John

The old Latin name for the Hospitallers was Ordo Equitum Hospitalorum Sancti Iohannis Hierosolymitani, now known officially as The Sovereign Military Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, called of Malta. This Order has also been known under the names of Knights of Rhodes, and later as the Knights of Malta, since it was at these places that they made their headquarters during various periods of their existence. Their history extends up to the present day but

for our purposes we will consider only their history, activities and contributions during the early period of the Crusades.

No one knows the exact date of the founding of the Knights of St. John, but it was some time between the years 1048 and 1070. Their purpose from the very beginning was to care for the sick and needy and to be of service to pilgrims. A group of merchants of Amalfi, a rich city in the kingdom of Naples, were engaged in commercial relations with the Caliph of Egypt.[1] Having engratiated themselves with this Caliph they obtained from him the privilege of establishing a hospital, a church, a monastery, and living quarters, "a stone's throw from the Holy Sepulchre," all designed for the use of poor and sick Latin pilgrims who were coming to the Holy Land. All the chief cities of Italy and South Europe generously contributed for the support of this institution. When, through the favorable reports of returning pilgrims, the beneficial influences of this establishment became known the amount of revenue and as a result their powers of usefulness, were enlarged. "Such was the original establishment of the Hospitallers of Jerusalem, which may justly be considered as the cradle of the Order of St. John, and from this pious fraternity of

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1. There are two different names assigned to this Caliph. E.E. Hume in his book, Medical Work of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John, p. 4, gives the name of the Caliph as Abu Tamin Bonesar. Whitwirth Porter, A History of the Knights of Malta, I, 12, states that it was the Caliph Monstaser Billah.

charitable devotees sprang a body of men who for centuries became the terror of the Infidel and the bulwark of Christendom in the East."[2]

The actual founder of the hospital was the monk, Brother Gerard. He was in charge during the time of the First Crusade. When Godfrey and his army appeared before the walls of Jerusalem on June 7, 1099, Gerard along with the other Christians in the city was thrust into prison by the Turkish governor. With the capture of Jerusalem Gerard was set free together with the others and Godfrey, elected King of Jerusalem, was not slow in showing his appreciation for their services in the care of the wounded. He visited the hospital and gave to the Knights the Casal Hesailia (Es-Silsileh) and two bakeries. It has been stated, but incorrectly so, that he gave them the manor of Montboise in Brabant. This was really the gift of Godfrey III, Duke of Lower Lorraine, donated to them in 1183.[3] Nor did the Hospitallers cater only to the wants of the Crusaders. "The hospital established in Jerusalem from the first adopted the policy of receiving all needy patients, Mohammedans and Jews, as well as Christians."[4] At first Gerard had called his band "The Poor Brethren of the Hospital of Saint John" and placed the hospital under the patronship of and dedicated to St. John the Almoner. Now, however, Gerard

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2. Porter, op. cit., I, 13.
3. Hume, op. cit., p. 7.
4. Ibid., p. 6.

organized his Fratres Hospitalarii into a "regularly constituted religious Order, which was placed under the protection of Saint John the Baptist, and they were named Knights of Saint John, or Hospitallers."[5] They assumed black habits adorned with a white eight-pointed cross. The Order was formally recognized by Pope Pascal II by a bull published in 1113, shortly after they were organized.[6] In this bull the Pope placed the Order under the protection of the apostolic see where it "shall for ever remain." Also it is decreed unlawful for any man to "rashly disturb your Hospital, or to carry off any of its property." If anyone, after knowing the contents of this bull of 1113, attempts to oppose any of its provisions he is to stand under the pain of excommunication, be deprived of all his dignities and deprived of the Sacraments and benefits of the redemption of Christ.

The purpose of the Order was for the support and maintenance of pilgrims and for the relieving the necessities of the poor.

In 1118 Gerard, the founder of the Order, died and was succeeded by Raymond du Puy, a French nobleman who was the first to hold the title of Master (the title of Grand Master was not used until 1267 when it was bestowed to Hugo de Noval by Pope Clement V). It was Raymond du Puy who gave

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5. Ibid., p. 7.
6. For the text of this bull Cf. Appendix C.

the Order its original rule. But this was lost in the capture of the city of Acre by the Infidels in 1289. In 1300 Pope Boniface VIII at the request of the Grand Master, William de Villaret, presented the Hospital with a new bull in which the contents of du Puy's original rule were recapitulated, with a few alterations.[7]

In the rule of the Order as set down by du Puy the Knights took the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. In addition to their work among the sick du Puy added another duty to their organization. They were to consider themselves also soldiers of Christ and as such to engage in warfare. This was to be in addition to their work at the Hospital. Their duties consisted now "to fight only for his (Christ's) glory, to uphold his worship, and the Catholic religion; to love, revere, and preserve justice; and to favour, sustain, and defend the oppressed, without neglecting the sacred duties of hospitality."[8] Thus their contribution to the church and the world during this tumultous and war-filled period was extended to two phases, care for the sick and wounded and fighting for the Catholic Church. It was the duty of every true Knight of St. John to go immediately to wherever an Infidel foe was to be encountered but they were strictly forbidden to interfere in any of the encounters between Christian princes. Their

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7. For the text of this bull Cf. Appendix D.
8. Porter, on. cit., I, 31.

assumption of an active part in warfare called forth a number of regulations with regard to the armor and weapons they were allowed to use. Strong prohibitions were issued against the use of ornaments and trappings both in dress and arms.[9]

The Church welcomed them as her soldiers and gave them her blessing. In the bull of Pope Alexander IV, dated 1259, in which he decrees a distinctive dress for these Knights of St. John he refers to them as the "elect people of God, a princely race, and earnest body of righteous men, the council and congregation of the King of mighty kings, in whose hands verily are two equal swords and burning lights, to execute vengeance on the nations, and to protect the city of the Lord."[10]

The organization of the Order as outlined by du Puy is a Military Order. The head of the Order is the Grand Master who is elected for life. He has the rank of a Prince, the precedence of a Cardinal and his title of address is Most Eminent Highness. Originally the Order was composed of three classes of personnel, Knights, Chaplains, and servants. Later on another class called Donats were added. These were persons who had made contributions to the Order's treasury. Soon after the Order arrived at Rhodes and made it their headquarters (1306) the Grand

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9. For a more detailed account of their dress, armor and weapons Cf. Ibid., I, 38 ff.
10. Ibid., I, 499.

Master divided the Order into eight Langues or tongues, that is countries. These in turn were subdivided into Grand Priores which were also further divided into Bailiwicks. These Langues are as follows: 1st Langue, Provence; 2nd Langue, Auvergne; 3rd Langue, France, including the Priories of France, Aquitaine and Champagne; 4th Langue, Italy, including the Priories of Lombardy, Rome, Venice, Pisa, Capua, Barletta and Messina; 5th Langue, Aragon, including Priories of Aragon, Catalonia and Navarre; 6th Langue, England, including Priories of England and Ireland; 7th Langue, Germany, including the Priories of Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Dacia and Poland, and the Bailiwick of Brandenburg, the Priory of Dacia embraced Denmark, Sweden and Norway; 8th Langue, Castile, including the Priories Castile, Leon and Portugal. Each of the Langues furnished a high officier in the Order. For example, the Grand Commander or Preceptor, who took precedence immediately after the Grand Master always came from the Langue of Provence; the Grand Marshal in charge of military affairs was always from the Langue of Auvergne; and so on.

At first no knight was admitted to the Order unless he could offer the strictest proofs of noble descent on both sides of his family. After a time knights who were not of noble descent were admitted to the Order in recognition of work done or contributions made. These were known as Knights of Grace to distinguish them from the former

class who were known as Knights of Justice. Donats were men of knightly birth who were unable to fulfill all the genealogical requirements of the Order. In return for a donation they were, however, permitted to serve under the banner of the Hospital. They wore only the "half-cross," that is, the usual badge of the Order minus the upper arm. The regular badge of the Knights of St. John is the Maltese Cross. In the ancient ceremony of investiture the Grand Master explained the meaning of the emblem to the novice as follows: "The four arms stand for the four Christian virtues: temperance, prudence, justice and fortitude, while the eight points represent the beatitudes. The crown from which the Cross is suspended typifies the sovereignty of the Order."[11]

This Order was held in very high esteem by contemporaries. The Emperor Barbarossa referred to the work of the Hospitallers as "inestimibilia opera misericordiae" and Richard Coeur-de-Lion, when he gave a Charter to their Commandery in Villedieu-les-Poêles, in Normandy, in the year 1192 said of the organization:

> The grandeur and extent, not only of the renown of their organization, but also of the experience of it, has brought to our knowledge how magnificent and how great are the works in which this very holy House of the Hospital of Jerusalem abounds; all of which both by experience and testimony we have seen with our eyes, which have assured us of it. For besides the ordinary aid which the Masters and Brothers of Jerusalem give and render to the poor paupers, and

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11. Hume, op. cit., p. 39.

> over and above the efficiency and well-being of their House, they have also, both on this side and on the other of the sea, succoured, aided, and entertained us with so great devotion and magnificence, that the extent of their aid and great benefits oblige our conscience not to pass it over in silence, but to be grateful for it.[12]

Nor were the only admirers of the Knights of St. John Christian. The Sultan of Egypt, Saladin, visited their Hospital at Acre incognito and was very favorably impressed with their work there. Although various accounts of this incident differ widely in their details there is enough material common to all of them that we may have at least an idea of what took place. Saladin had heard of the charity and aid given to all men in need and in sickness and was determined to find out if this were true. He came to the hospital disguised as a sick beggar and sought aid. He was admitted at once since this privilege was denied no one, Christian or not. He was offered treatment but told the warder that only one thing would restore his health. He was promised it unconditionally, if it were available. Then to the amazement and consternation of the warder the supposed beggar told him that in order to recover his health he had to eat the heart (other stories have the foot or a steak cut from the side) of Moriel, the charger of the Master himself. The Master of the Knights of St. John was notified of the sacrifice demanded, and true to the principles

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12. E.W. Schermerhorn, On the Trail of the Eight-Pointed Cross, p. 21.

of the Hospitallers, gave the order that Moriel must die in order to save the life of this beggar. The Sultan was satisfied that what he had heard concerning the Hospitallers was true, and Moriel was spared. Then the Sultan asked to be left alone with the Master and to him he revealed himself. "Know, O Master of the Knights Hospitallers, that I am none other than Saladin. We stand here alone, face to face. I am unarmed and at your mercy. But I know that I am in no danger. Men, even though Christians and Unbelievers, who can care for the sick and wounded so tenderly do not have as their leader one who could harm a guest within their gates. I shall know how to respect your Order thenceforth."[13] He then departed in peace. When the mighty Saladin returned to his own country the brethren of the Hospital received a letter from Saladin, sealed with his own seal, which is said to have read:

> Let all men know that I, Saladin, Soldan of Babylon, give and bequeath to the Hospital of Acre a thousand besants of gold, to be paid every year in peace or war, unto the Grand Master be he who he may, in gratitude for the wonderful charity of himself and his order.[14]

Such is the verdict of their contemporaries upon the work of the Sovereign Military Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, called of Malta.

B. The Knights Templars

During the first two Crusades it was the practice of

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13. Hume, op. cit., p. 21.
14. E.J. King, Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land, p. 157, quoted ibid., p. 22.

the pilgrims to make the journey from Europe to the Holy Land by an overland route by way of Byzantium. Once these Christians reached Asia Minor they were subject to attacks by bands of Moslems, sometimes small armies, which robbed and murdered these pilgrims, sometimes within a few miles of Jerusalem. There was a need for guides and protectors for such travellers and nine knights (some say the number was seven) resolved to perform these services. Hugh de Payens, a Burgundian knight and one of the most notable of the first members is usually regarded as the founder of the Order. In 1118 they were granted a dwelling in Jerusalem near the Dome of the Rock. This place is believed by Christians to be the site of the Temple of Solomon. From their place of residence they acquired the name Knights Templars although in early documents they are frequently called "the poor fellow-soldiers of Christ." An early seal of the Order portrays two of the knights mounted on the same horse. This was to be an indication of poverty as well as brotherhood. For nine years they had no uniform or distinctive dress but wore the cast-off clothing given to them by charitable people. During this time their number did not increase, yet the Templars were successful in their work as guides and protectors of the pilgrims. "Two at least of the nine original members, Hugh de Payens and Godfrey de Omer, were warriors of repute who had won high praise for their conduct in the First Crusade, and all of them had a knowledge of the country and of the wiles of

the Moslem bandits of which newcomers from the West were naturally ignorant."[15]

This type of an Order was new to Christendom. They were in part religious and in part warriors. The Church had no army of its own. Up to this time it had relied upon the weapons of excommunication and the interdict or it had ordered a king or prince to provide an army to chastise anyone who had defied the authority of the Holy See. The servants of Rome were forbidden to shed blood but of course this rule was overlooked many times. Some of the prelates had an ingenious method of getting around this rule. They took it literally and so did not carry swords into battle. Instead they used battle maces and excused themselves by saying that they had not shed blood but merely crushed the brains of the enemies. But the Knights Templars made no excuse for combining war with religion. They were servants of the Church sworn not to minister to the people as priests or monks but as soldiers whose duty was to be an honor to God by fighting the infidel. To their original function of protecting wayfarers and pilgrims and acting generally as the Military police of our day they soon added a further duty. They undertook to battle against the infidel, whether or not pilgrims were involved and the members of this Order became the nucleus of a standing army "avowed to a perpetual struggle with Islam."[16]

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15. G.A. Campbell, The Knights Templars, p. 21.
16. Ibid., p. 22.

According to William of Tyre, their numbers did not increase above the initial nine until 1127. But in this organization, small as it was, every man was a knight and a leader and the need in Syria for men who were able to command was very great.

They soon, however, became very popular. The idea of an Order of fighting churchmen appealed to the imagination of the Christian world. "It combined the two ideals of the men of his age, the shelter of the cloister and the career of the sword."[17] Nobles in the West contributed huge sums to the Templars knowing that while they were giving to the servants of the Church they were also helping to finance the war against the accursed infidel.

Hugh de Payens and Godfrey de St. Omer went to the Pope at Rome and sought to be recognized and to receive a Rule. The Papacy was not slow in appreciating the potentialities of the Order of the Temple and in the Council of the Church held at Troyes in the beginning of 1128 they were recognized and given a rule, a rule based on the Benedictine Rule but which bears the marks of the editorship of St. Bernard, one of the most influential churchmen of his day. The Knights Templars were fortunate in having a man of the caliber and standing of St. Bernard of Clairvaux as their supporter. He was enthusiastic for the Order and their ideals and although it would have flourished even

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17. H. Lamb, The Crusades, p. 345.

without his support and advocacy yet it owed much of its fame and growth to him. He extolled these religious knights to the skies.

The Rule under which they operated was one of strictness. They were bound by lifelong vows to give implicit obedience to their superior; they ate their meals in silence, slept with their clothes on, their beds being little more than a carpet spread over the stones. They were to keep themselves ready for any call to service. The pleasures of the day were denied them such as women, hunting and hawking, although they were allowed to hunt lions if they wished. They were given forty days of fasting if they struck a blow and if two knights quarreled they were required to eat their meals together, apart from the others, for a month. If anyone raised a weapon against a brother or deserted his comrades in battle he was stripped of his habit in public and driven out of the order.

That they were very active in the wars against the infidels is very apparent from some of the contemporary accounts of the Crusades. In an old French Chronicle of about the year 1196 we read: "The Hospital was drawn up along the seashore, where were many of the Saracen folk, and the Temple with them in the foremost rank; for theirs was always the beginning of the battle."[18] They were,

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18. Ambrose, The History of the Holy War (L'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte), in Three French Chronicles of the Crusades, translated by E.N. Stone, p. 48.

together with the Hospitallers, often given the duty of forming the front guard or rear guard of the army.

After a while they became very wealthy and served as the bankers in that part of the country until they were surpassed by the Jew. They became proud and haughty, often leading wild and riotous lives. One of the popular expressions of the times was "to drink like a Templar."

But for all their value to the Papacy and the Church at large the time of the downfall of the Templars approached. This was a time of disillusionment and disappointment. The Crusades had failed miserably to the knowledge and amazement of all. The Templars fell during this period of general disappointment. On the 13th of October, 1307 orders went out for the arrest and imprisonment of all the Templars in France. Wild stories were circulated about their having an idol in which "were two carbuncles for eyes, bright as the brightness of heaven, and it is certain that all the hope of the Templars was placed in it; it was their sovereign god, and they trusted in it with all their heart."[19] There were many other stories, undoubtedly false, spread among the people. "The populace was excited against the Templars by addresses delivered by Dominicans in the Royal Palace."[20] The Inquisition began to work among the ranks

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19. Addison, p. 203 quoting Dupuy, p. 24, ed. 1713, quoted in J. Macdonell, Historical Trials, p. 29.
20. Ibid., p. 42.

of the Templars and all of the damning confessions obtained from the Templars were obtained only after torture. Finally the Pope, in the bull Vox in excelso, abolished the Order and confiscated all of their property.

Macdonell remarks about the trial of the Templars in very definite language:

> As to the order itself, the verdict must be one of acquittal. Among the most heinous crimes revealed by the history of ancient trials are those committed by the prosecutors, and among such criminals Philip and Clement are pre-eminent. Cupidity was at the bottom of the whole proceedings. In Fuller's words, the bees must be burnt if the honey was to be got.[21]

We have seen how Monasticism rose to meet the needs of the times during the period of the Crusades. When there was a need for someone to take care of the sick and wounded it was the Knights of St. John who assumed this responsibility. When the pilgrims came to the Holy Land and were attacked on their way by Moslem hordes and bands it was a Monastic Order, the Knights Templars who rose to meet this need for protection.

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21. Ibid., p. 42.

Chapter IV

The Mendicant Orders

The thirteenth century is not a pretty picture to behold if one assumes the point of view of the mass of people who make up the world. Everything was geared for the wealthy and the nobility. The sufferings of the poor "whom we have always with us" were passed by without notice. All was corrupt, nobility-centered, concerned with the few of mankind who are in the driver's seat of the forces and institutions which mold the character of an age.

The "caste system" was the method of operation both in the Church and in the world. In the economic sphere the city was in the ascendency. People were becoming more business minded and industrial in their thinking and pursuits. And in the city there were two classes, in Italy called the "majores" and "minores," the nearest familiar equivalent being "guilded" and "unguilded." For the unguilded in the city there was nothing, no respect, no advantages, nothing but contempt from the social upper classes. Nothing was done for them in the way of caring for their sick, either physically or spiritually. "The sediment of the town population in the Middle Ages was a dense slough of stagnant misery, squalor, famine, loathsome

disease, and dull despair...."[1] Added to this was the fact that ever-increasing bands of outlaws and beggars were left to shift for themselves. As long as they quietly rotted and died the civil authorities paid no attention to them.

In the Church the same situation prevailed. All centered about the hierarchy. The mind of the clergy was filled with seeking higher positions and defending the positions they had against those who would try to unseat them and usurp their place. "The first glance at the secular clergy brings into startling prominence the ravages of simony; the traffic in ecclesiastical places was carried on with boundless audacity; benefices were put up to the highest bidder, and Innocent III admitted that fire and sword alone could heal this plague."[2] Only in the village community was the idea of the parish priest overseeing his flock and ministering to their wants even approximated. By and large the clergy was concerned with the people only when it was to their benefit, for example, the bishops and abbots saw in the adoration of relics a source of profitable revenue with which to increase their wealth and prestige and that of their churches. They were not always scrupulous as to where they obtained the "priceless" relics they offered for popular consumption and were often guilty of inventing and circulating stories

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1. A. Jessop, The Coming of the Friars, p. 6.
2. P. Sabatier, Life of St. Francis of Assisi, translated by L.S. Houghton, p. 29.

of saints whose relics they had so that the people would be more impressed.

The monastic orders at this time were scarcely more reputable. "Their reputation for sanctity soon stimulated the liberality of the faithful, and thus fatally brought about their own decadence."[3] We may gain an idea of the condition of the monastic orders when we read their appeals to the court of Rome where assassinations, violations, incests and adulteries occur and reoccur on almost every page. In Monasticism the members were largely taken from the higher classes and the nobility, and as a consequence the monks cared little for the common man. The monk did little for the townsman, instead he fled awey to his solitude. There was a pressing need for someone to work among the common man.

Such was the condition of the state and the Church in the thirteenth century. Nor could one look to the clergy for reform. They were as bad and as corrupt as they ever were. The salvation of Christianity had to come from another source, the despised and wretched common man. It was from these ranks that the salvation of the Church came in the person of St. Francis and to some extent, St. Dominic.

A. Saint Francis and the Friar Minors

Francis was born about the year 1182 in the town of

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3. Ibid., p. 30.

Assissi. The house in which he was born was a simple residence of five or six little rooms, although his father, Pietro Bernardone, was a fairly wealthy cloth merchant. This need not surprise us, however, since in Assissi, as in most of the Tuscan cities, the dimensions of the houses were fixed by law. When the mother presented the child for baptism at the font of San Rufino she had him baptized by the name of John. But the father, returning from one of his journeys, chose to call him Francis. Perhaps he had already decided to give him an education and bring him up after the French fashion. We do not know, but nevertheless Francis was taught to speak French and he always had a special fondness both for the language and the country. His education was not extensive. His teachers were the priests of San Giorgio who taught him a little Latin. He also learned to write but not with a great deal of success. He rarely took up his pen, and then for only a few words. He was accustomed to sign his letters with the simple , the symbol of the cross of Christ. There is extant, an autograph of Francis in which he signs the document with this tau.[4]

When he became a little older he accompanied his father on his journeys which were almost little expeditions. In the course of these journeys he became acquainted with a large part of Europe. When he reached the age of

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4. Ibid., p. 357, n. 8.

young manhood he not only led the life of the young men of his day but sought to excel them. At this time the troubadours were roaming over the towns of northern Italy. Francis patterned his life after these wandering minstrels in their way of life and excesses. One of his chief ambitions was to rise above the commonplace. He had acquired a sort of passion for chivalry which he knew to be far off for a man in his station of life. Nevertheless, "fancying that that dissipation was one of the distinguishing features of nobility, he had thrown himself into it with all his soul."[5]

About the time he was twenty years old he began to realize that there were poor and hungry folks who could live for a month on what he would spend for one night of frivolity and entertainment for himself. This did not change him yet but at least it was a start.

In the spring of 1204, two years later, he became very sick and for many long weeks looked death in the face. When a man looks at the world and himself through the glasses of death he sees things very differently than before. The memories of his past life came before his mind's eye and filled him with bitterness and disgust with himself. While convalescing and immediately afterward he did some serious thinking. But then the thought came to him that perhaps all this was merely a delusion

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5. Ibid., p. 9.

brought on by his sickness and if he were to return to his former paths this melancholia would pass. Soon an opportunity presented itself. A knight of Assissi was preparing to go and join Gaultier de Brienne who was in the south of Italy fighting for Innocent III. Here, thought Francis, was his opportunity for glory. So he made preparations to go with this knight. He was overjoyed and made preparations with a princely luxury. At last the day of his departure arrived. In high spirits Francis set out. But by the time he had arrived at Spoleto he was stricken with a fever. In a few hours all of his dreams crumbled and he returned the very next day to Assissi. His unexpected return made a great stir in the little city. His old companions flocked about him and sought to make him happy by giving him sumptuous banquets and resuming the activities of former days. Francis let them have their way. But at the same time he was passing through intense conflicts. Often he took long walks. Part of his time he spent in a grotto about a half hour's walk from Assissi. He passed through cruel and intense solitary conflicts. He implored the mercy of God as he thought over his past life. To borrow the language of the mystics the inward man "was not yet formed in him but needed only the occasion to bring about the final break with the past."[6] Soon the occasion presented itself. His friends

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6. Ibid., p. 22.

one day invited him to a banquet. As in old times they made him king of the revels. This feast lasted far into the night and when it came to a close they all rushed out into the street filling the night with song and uproar. Suddenly they realized that Francis was not with them. They searched long for him and finally found him holding in his hand the sceptre they had given him as the king of their revels but in such a deep revery that he seemed unconscious of what was taking place around him. They awoke him from his revery and teasing him one of them said that he was thinking of taking a wife. His reply marks the decisive turning of his life. He replied, "Yes, I am thinking of taking a wife more beautiful, more rich, more pure than you could ever imagine."[7] His friends did not realize what those words meant but they did comprehend their import and they accepted the situation.

The stories of how he subsequently exchanged his garments with a beggar standing before the Piazza and of his visitto the lazaretto are well known.

One factor that influenced Francis in the type of life he had chosen to lead was poverty. In his home city of Assissi, which is largely an agricultural area, he knew many poor people who were in the straits of poverty because of war, bad harvests, or illness. To people like these material aid is only a part of their needs. Sympathy is the

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7. Ibid., p. 29.

thing they need most of all. Francis after his conversion determined that this was the goal of his life, to give sympathy and understanding to the poor of this world along with what else he had to offer.

We have dwelt at length upon the early life of St. Francis because all this has a direct bearing upon his later life and upon the type of religious Order he inaugurated.

Francis, no longer welcome at home, went to a hermitage where he could be alone. After a time Pietro Bernardone brought the case of his son up before the bishop of the city. The bishop after setting forth the case advised Francis simply to give up all his property. Francis answered this sentence immediately by removing all of his clothes and rolling them up in a small bundle laid them together with the little money that he had at the bishop's feet. The bishop's gardener threw over him an old mantle that had been discarded. With this as his only possession St. Francis set out upon life. For a while he lived among and served lepers. He then set about the task of repairing several of the churches in the vicinity.

On February 24, 1209, he was hearing mass at Portiuncula. The priest turned to the congregation and read the words of the Gospel. But to Francis it seemed as if it were Jesus, Himself, who was saying the words, "Wherever ye go, preach, saying, 'The kingdom of heaven is at hand. Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, cast out devils. Freely

ye have received, freely give. Provide neither silver nor gold nor brass in your purses, neither scrip nor two coats, nor shoes nor staff, for the laborer is worthy of his meat.'"[8] These words came to Francis as a revelation. He decided immediately to put these precepts into practice in his own life.

The next morning Francis went up to Assissi and began to preach. The sermons of St. Francis are so artless and so simple that it would be difficult to give a sample of his sermons, but they struck deep into the hearts of his hearers. While at Assissi he converted a rich man, Bernardo di Quintavalle, to his way of life. Bernardo sold his possessions and distributed the proceeds to the poor and cast his lot with St. Francis. Soon a third man, Pietro, was added to their company. Such were the humble beginnings of one of the largest Orders of the Catholic Church, the Franciscans, or as Francis called his group, the Friar Minors.

In the course of time the number of Friar Minors increased and Francis decided to write a Rule for his Order and to go to Rome for Papal approval.

The first Rule which Francis submitted to Rome has not come down to us but it seems to have been extremely simple and made up mostly from passages taken from the Gospels. In August, 1209, Pope Innocent III gave his approval

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8. Quoted, Ibid., p. 69.

of this Rule. By this time Francis had acquired twelve followers.

"In its first beginnings the Franciscan movement was essentially moral, not theological, still less intellectual."[9] Francis stressed most of all the vow of poverty. Throughout his life he devoted himself to Lady Poverty. His was the order, not of the rich and well-born but of the lower classes whose purpose was to help men of their own class. In their travels they did not seek out the high places but preferred to work among the slums of the cities. They lived in the poorest and most despised sections of the city and worked among the beggars, lepers, and other outcasts. Francis himself never aspired to a high position of authority and prestige. He was known, throughout his whole life, simply as Brother Francis. The name he chose for his group is significant. As we mentioned before the cities of Italy had two classes, the "majores" and the "minores." This latter class were the outcasts who were at the bottom of the social and economic ladder of the Middle Ages. It is from this class that Francis chose the name of his Order. "Francis deliberately changed the name of his disciples from the 'Penitents of Assissi,' and enrolled himself with the unguilded; his was the company of the 'Brothers Minor.'"[10] The Order of Friar Minors is truly

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9. Jessop, on. cit., p. 16.
10. Workman, Evolution of the Monastic Ideal, p. 297.

a democratic organization. Usually the men who founded the Orders in the Monastic system were men of nobility as Benedict and Bernard. But the Franciscans sprang from the common soil and devoted their lives to the alleviation of the sufferings of the people for whom the feudal system had no use. The other monks were content to withdraw from society and spend their time in solitude where they were of no benefit to the world at large. The Friar Minors instead had no cloister into which they could retreat. The world was their cloister and their devotions were spent, not in solitude, but in helping people.

This comes to the fore again when Francis founded his Third Order or Tertiaries. This was a group of laymen who espoused his ideal. Although celibacy was dropped the monastic virtues of poverty and obedience were not neglected. The purpose of this lay fraternity were peace and charity. Those who were rich distributed their surplus wealth to the poor. They, together with the regular order of Franciscans devoted themselves to social work. We may see their influence "in the rapid rise in France alone of the number of leper hospitals from a few to over two thousand...."[11]

Both the Franciscans and the Dominicans, of whom we shall speak later, were ardent missionaries. The Friars were consumed with a passion for souls. The missionary

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11. Ibid., p. 301.

activities of the Franciscans is remarkable. "At the 'Chapter of the Mats' in 1221 three thousand Brothers attended, and delegates were received from France, Germany, Greece, Spain, and Portugal."[12] Two years before in 1219 two Franciscan missionaries had been sent to the Saceracens of Tunis and six to Morocco. The Holy Land became a place of special care to the Franciscans. Francis himself, together with twelve others, set off for the East to preach the Gospel. Both the Dominicans and the Franciscans preached the Gospel to the Mongols of North China and in 1308 they reached Peking. One of the most famous of the Friar Minors, Raymund Lull, established a school in Mallorca in which Franciscans might be trained in Arabic and Chaldee for service in the East.

The Franciscans rose to meet a pressing need in the thirteenth century. The common people were being entirely overlooked in the growing feudal character of society. No one was interested in them and in their needs. The Church had a great vacuum in its program and the Franciscans, rising from the common man, and understanding their needs filled this vacuum, not by any great and showy burst of effort but by calmly spreading themselves where they were needed throughout the world and simply doing good.

B. St. Dominic and the Friar Preachers

Dominic was born in the year 1170 in the Castilian

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12. Ibid., p. 301.

village of Calaruega. His parents were of noble birth, his father a member of the ancient house of Guzman, and his mother, Joanna of Aza also descended from the nobility. When he was fifteen years old he was sent to the university of Palencia where he spent the next ten years of his life. He left Palencia to become a canon attached to the Cathedral of Osma. In a short time he was made sub-prior.

At this time heresy was in the air. Reformers both within and without the Church were raising their heads. The "Poor Men of Lyons" under Peter Waldo were seeking to reform the church. These men were going over the whole of Europe two by two and spreading their teachings. The Albigenses were zealous in their missionary activities. Pope Innocent, when speaking of these heresies, said, "Heresy can only be destroyed by solid instruction; it is by preaching that we sap the foundations of error."[13] Inspired by these words Dominic and his companion Azevedo carried on public disputations and preached in churches. This was about the year 1206. He kept on preaching but little was achieved. He founded a small religious community of sixteen brethren at St. Ronain, near Toulouse. On October 8, 1215 Innocent III gave his formal sanction to this new community, "as to a house of Augustinian Canons, who received permission to enjoy in their corporate capacity

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13. Quoted in Workless, Francis and Dominic, p. 87.

the endowments which had been bestowed upon them."[14] Innocent died the following July and was succeeded by Honorius III. In 1216 Honorius granted a bull constituting the Order by taking it under the protection of St. Peter and the Bishop of Rome. In 1217 Dominic took residence at Rome. He at once rose high in the favor of the Pope. Up to this time there was no mention of poverty among the more highly educated Friar Preachers as they came to be called. In 1219 the Franciscans held their second general Chapter. They were taking the world by storm and the Preaching Friars, if they were to succeed at such a time as this could do so only by exhibiting as "sublime a faith as the Minorites displayed to the world."[15] Therefore in the next year when a general Chapter of the Dominicans was held at Bologna the profession of poverty was formally adopted. All means of support were renounced except that which they might receive from day to day. "Henceforth the two orders were to labour side by side in magnificent rivalry -- mendicants who went forth like Gideon's host with empty pitchers to fight the battles of the Lord, and whose desires...were summed up in the simple petition, 'Give us this day our daily bread.'"[16]

Dominic died in 1221 at the age of fifty-one but his Order lived on and grew to an immense size.

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14. Jessop, op. cit., p. 25.
15. Ibid., p. 26.
16. Ibid.

The purpose of the Dominican Order was at the beginning two-fold, missionary work and preaching. It was a time in which preaching seemed to be a lost art. Religion had devolved to almost a purely liturgical service. The people went to church, heard mass and then left. "All men could see that preaching was everywhere greatly needed, and the idea of a general order or preachers, to be controlled by the eloquent Dominic, was welcomed...."[17] After the death of Dominic, his successor John of Saxony greatly extended the sphere and influence of the Dominicans. They were sent to Germany, Venice, Poland, and Denmark. "In 1237 the Dominicans gained distinction by bringing back some of the Eastern Jacobites to the Church."[18] After the conquest of America the Dominicans sent evangelists to Mexico, New Granada, and Peru. The Dominicans, like the Friar Minors, did not flee the world to retire to a cloister or cell and work only for their own salvation but they went <u>into</u> the world and worked <u>in</u> the world and <u>among</u> people doing good for others. "They did not flee the world; on the contrary, the world was their parish."[19]

There is, however, a blot on the record of the Mendicants, the Dominicans in particular. To them was assigned the office of the Inquisition. This was a natural pattern

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17. J.A. Broadus, <u>Lectures on the History of Preaching</u>, p. 100.
18. Herkless, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 118.
19. Workman, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 300.

of events. The Dominican Order arose to meet the various heretical sects such as the Albigenses, Waldenses, etc. that were prevalent in these times. The Dominicans were also the first papal servants to receive a command to labor among the Albigenses. The year 1227 is the year in which the office of the Inquisition was assigned to the Dominicans. In the year 1233 Gregory IX issued a bull to the "Priors and Friars of the Order of Preachers, Inquisitors" which reads as follows:

> Therefore you, or any of you, wherever you may happen to preach, are empowered, unless they desist from such offense (of heretics) on monition, to deprive clerks of their benefices forever, and to proceed against them and all others, without appeal, calling in the aid of the secular arm, if necessary, and coercing opposition, if requisite, with the censures of the Church, without appeal.[20]

At the foundation of the Inquisition they were honored as good and faithful servants of religion. But the "traditions of the crusade and the religious character of the people stimulated the friars to a rigous which was cruelty, and a zeal which was brutality."[21] The methods of the Inquisition are so well known that it is not necessary to discuss them. Thus the Dominican Order in particular left their first love, that of preaching the Gospel and expanding the work of the Church into other lands and became the watchdogs and heresy hunters of the papacy.

Thus we see how the Mendicant Orders rose to meet the

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20. Herkless, op. cit., pp. 144 f.
21. Ibid., p. 145.

conditions in the Church and world of their day. When all others were concerned with their own advancement and the whole world centered around the nobility and higher classes, it was the Franciscans who entered the arena of society and fought for the common man. To them must the credit be given for the start of social work in the Middle Ages and the alleviation of suffering of the vast majority of mankind for which the growing feudal system had no place of honor. When preaching reached a low ebb and became almost non-existent it was the Dominican Order, the Friar Preachers which supplied the answer to this need by supplying the church with the preachers it so sorely needed. And it was this same Order which met the challenge thrown to it in combatting the heresies which were springing up in the world of the thirteenth century. Whether this was noble or not, righteous or satanic in purpose, nevertheless it was the Order of Preachers which met this assignment. They adapted themselves to meet the conditions of the times in which they found themselves.

Chapter V

The Society of Jesus

Don Inigo de Onaz y de Loyola, later known as St. Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus, was born in 1491, a year before Columbus discovered America. In his youth he served as a page in the household of Don Juan Velasquez, Queen Isabella's chief treasurer. He was educated not for the priesthood but for the knighthood. As a youth he was known for all manner of pranks and escapades. It is surprising, then, that at the age of 24 we find him occupying a distinguished position as an officer of the Viceroy of Navarre. At this period in his life he began to read a number of famous romances. The book which made a deep impression upon this young and robust soldier was entitled Amadis de Gaula. Loyola resolved to imitate slavishly the actions, manner of thought, and even the words of Amadis. He now set out upon his life as a chevalier errant. Such was his early life. He lived a carefree, robust existence, but there was soon to happen an event which changed the whole course of his days.

Early in May, 1521, the French army entered Navarre. The enemy occupied Pampelona and since the Spanish garrison was weak they held a conference with the French general, discussing with him a possible surrender. The French

general demanded unconditional surrender. Ignatius Loyola spoke against these terms and urged his commander to reject this dishonorable demand. This was done and negotiations were broken off. The enemy attacked and Loyola was struck in his right leg by a cannon-ball. His leg was broken and the splinters of the cannon-ball made a flesh wound in the calf of his left leg. The French captured the town and Spanish and French doctors took care of Loyola's wound. He recovered rapidly and was then sent in a litter over the mountains to the town of Loyola. Here the doctors decided to reset the leg. They did a poor job and when the leg healed it had a hump of bone sticking out below the knee and it was also shorter than its partner. Loyola permitted the doctors to saw off this hump and to try and lengthen the leg by stretching it. But this operation failed and Loyola realized that he would no longer be able to return to his chosen profession.

This was the beginning of the change in Loyola. While he was lying in bed suffering with his leg he longed for some books to read. But the city in which he was staying, Azpeitia, was so far behind as far as culture was concerned that they did not even have a copy of the famous Amadis available. All that could be procured for him were two large devotional books. One was the Legends of the Saints and the other a Life of Christ in four large folio volumes by Ludolf of Saxony. He began to read in the Legends of the Saints. As he had done with the novels he

read before this time he asked himself the question, "What if some time you were to do what these saints have done?" "And thereupon he would picture to himself a multitude of spiritual bravadoes which he imagined himself accomplishing when he would be a spiritual hero like St. Francis."[1] These thoughts began to multiply in his mind and a conflict arose between these new found mental ambitions and those of old. One night he believed that he beheld the Virgin Mary with the Baby Jesus in her arms. In late February, 1522, he left Loyola. On March 24, 1522, at the Church of Our Lady in the monastery of Montserrat he made a general confession and exchanged his knight's garb for a pilgrim's cloak. He spent the whole night before the altar of the church and in the morning set out as a religieux errant.

He went as far as Manresa where he stayed for a while. Here he practiced all the virtues which he was convinced that he would need as a religieux errant. He would not eat meat nor drink wine on work-days, allowed his hair and nails to grow, scourged himself three times each day, and attended mass three times daily. But his soul was still struggling against temptations to return to his past life. In order to free himself of the temptations he decided to try something which he had read in one of the stories in

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1. H. Boehmer, The Jesuits, translated by P.Z. Strodach, p. 21 f.

the Legends of the Saints. He resolved that he would eat nothing until God heard his prayer for inward peace. He began this fast one Sunday in July. For two days he was entirely free from the scruples which had been bothering him. But on Tuesday they returned with full force. He had one thought uppermost in his mind: "Get out of this miserable life; go back into the world where there is no such anguish of spirit."[2] This temptation had scarcely taken possession of his mind when he felt as if he had been awakened from a long sleep. He came to the conclusion that those qualms of conscience were a work of the devil. From henceforth he decided to say nothing more about his old, long-absolved sins, when he went to confession. From that hour he was a free and happy man.

After Loyola had experienced this inner change he read a book which impressed him deeply. This book, Thomas à Kempis' Imitation of Christ, became for him the book. In his Exercises, he recommended its use even before the Bible. Loyola continued to have visions on which he saw God, as a flash like lightning, or as a great round burning ball.

In February, 1523, he left Manresa and started on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He arrived there on the fourth of September after a difficult and adventurous journey. But due to circumstances he was forced to leave the Holy

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2. Ibid., p. 27.

Land on the 23rd of September after a stay of only 19 days. On his long voyage back to Spain he had plenty of time to think over what God now wanted him to do.

He was firmly convinced that his mission in life was to be a helper of souls. But he also realized that he needed more education if he were to carry out this calling successfully. He began to study Latin during the summer of 1524. This was in a private school located at Barcelona. Here he used his spare time to care for souls and while at Barcelona succeeded in finding three helpers. In the summer of 1526 he gathered a number of people whom he had "cured" into a kind of community. He and his companions had adopted a distinctive dress or habit and on account of this they were nicknamed Ensavalados, "Grey-coats."[3]

The ecclesiastical authorities at Barcelona became suspicious of whether or not Loyola and his group belonged to the heretical and mystical sect called Alumbrados. On the 21st of April, 1527, he was arrested by the Inquisition on the suspicion of heresy. He was finally acquitted but felt that his spiritual labors were sadly crippled in this town. And so he and his companions went to Paris where they attended the university there. At this time the burning question of the day at the University of Paris was whether Luther or the Pope was in the right. Loyola

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3. Ibid., p. 40.

decided to study this question and he came to the conclusion that all intercourse with the "Lutheranists" should be avoided and he urged all students close to him to avoid these heretics and to attend only the lectures of loyal Catholic professors and masters. He became decidedly partisan in favor of the Roman Catholic Church and determined to offer his services to the Pope. Again he was denounced before the Inquisition but easily convinced the Inquisitor that he was innocent of any suspicion. He was told that he would have to cease his efforts among the students and confine himself, at least for the immediate future, strictly to study. In October of 1529 he entered the College of St. Barbe to pursue his studies. At this college he had two roommates whom he, in the course of time, persuaded to join him in his work. These were Pierre Lefevre and the young Basque nobleman, Francesco de Jassu y Javier who later became known all over the world by the name of Francis Xavier.

On the Festival of the Assumption of the Virgin, August 15, 1534, Loyola and his followers gathered for a special service in the Chapel of Our Lady on Montmarte, a chapel located just outside the wall of Paris. After Lefevre, a newly ordained priest, had read Mass each of them partook of communion and then took a vow which runs something like this:

> On the completion of my studies, on a day still to be named, I will give all my possessions to help

> the poor, with the exception of a sum sufficient to cover the necessary expenses of my pilgrimage. I will then go to Rome in order to seek permission from the Pope to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. I will settle in Jerusalem in order to serve God for my own sake as well as for the sake of my fellow men, be they believers or unbelievers. Should it be impossible for me to reach Jerusalem within the course of a year, or for me to remain there, I will then offer my services to the Pope; and perform what ever he commands me wherever he may send me.[4]

In the spring of 1535 Loyola was compelled to leave Paris for reasons of health. The doctors advised him that they could do nothing for him and suggested his "native air" as a last hope. "He was more willing to try their prescription because a journey into Spain would give him the chance to atone among his own people for the follies of his youth, as well as enable him to visit the families of his disciples, and, as their attorney, to settle their affairs."[5]

In the spring of 1538 Loyola and his companions were again joined to each other. They met in the city of Rome but the Pope was absent at this time and no one knew when he would return. So they, in order not to sit idly by, sought the permission of the papal vicar-general to preach and hear confessions in Rome and its environs. On May 5 this group of men made a simultaneous attack from a number of pulpits against the "Lutheranists" in the city of Rome. In spite of this attack upon the Lutherans Loyola was again suspected of heresy by the Inquisition. This

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4. Ibid., p. 57.
5. J. Brodrick, S.J., The Origin of the Jesuits, p. 44.

opinion spread throughout Rome. People no longer came to hear them preach, parents would not send their children to them for instruction, and no one came to them for confession. All attempts to re-establish themselves were in vain. The only answer was to have their innocence established formally and publicly by a judicial investigation. The governor of Rome refused to hear of this. Loyola then went to the Pope and on the 17th or 18th had an audience with him that lasted for an hour. This was the turning point in the history of the Society of Jesus. Pope Paul not only ordered the investigation made - which ended in their acquittal - but from this time hence was favorable to Loyola and his group.

On September 3, 1539, they submitted a draught of their Constitution and asked for papal authorization to form an Order. The Pope was favorably inclined but the commission of cardinals, headed by Guidiccione, were distinctly hostile. They were of the opinion that all existing orders should be reduced to four and were in no mood to sanction the beginning of still another one. So the matter was tabled for about a year. Then it happened that this same Guidiccioni chanced to read this constitution which they had submitted a year before. This time he was converted to their cause. He reported to the commission of cardinals as follows:

> Although as before, I still hold to the opinion that no new religious order should be instituted

> I cannot refrain from approving this one. Indeed, I regard it as something that is now needed to help Christendom in its troubles, and especially to destroy the heresies which are at present devastating Europe.[6]

The Pope was very pleased with the report of the commission and on September 27, 1540, issued the bull "Reginini militantis Ecclesiae" in which he approved "The Institute of the Society of Jesus."

Loyola was elected General of the Society. We will quote the vow which St. Ignatius took since with the exception of a few unessential changes of phrasing it is identical with the vows still taken by all professed Fathers of the Society of Jesus.

> I, Ignatius Loyola, promise to Almighty God and to the Pope, His Vicar upon earth, before His Virgin Mother and the whole court of Heaven, and in the presence of the Society, perpetual poverty, chastity and obedience, according to the manner of life set forth in the Bull of the Society of Our Lord Jesus, and in the Constitutions declared or to be promulgated, of the same Society. Moreover, I promise special obedience to the Supreme Pontiff with regard to the missions mentioned in the same Bull and Constitutions.[7]

The purpose of the Society of Jesus was two-fold. They were to combat the Protestant Reformation which was sweeping Europe and they were to engage in missionary labors in foreign countries. Their method in meeting the Protestant Reformation was largely through education. They were to be the teachers of Europe, both of the youth and also

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6. T.J. Campbell, S.J., The Jesuits, p. 31.
7. Brodrick, op. cit., p. 94.

of older men who attended the universities.

We will not discuss the Organization and Constitution of the Jesuits but pass on immediately to the story of their fulfilling these two purposes.[8]

The educational plan of the Jesuits is outlined in their Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum, which is really a code of rules divided into categories: the rules for executives, professors of theology, philosophy, and literature. The organization of studies was made for a definite objective, "that was the education of the whole man on a Christian basis."[9] There were five classes, Lower, Middle, and Superior Grammar, Humanities, and Rhetoric. The class hours were divided into two sessions of two and a half hour's length, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. A holiday usually came in the middle of the week "for it was felt that more than four class days in succession would dull the pupil's keenness and dampen his enthusiasm for study."[10] The Jesuit educational institutions became very popular. In 1615 they had 372 colleges, in 1710 their number had grown to 612.[11] At the time of their suppression (ca. 1769) the Jesuit Fathers were teaching in twenty-four universities.[12]

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8. For a discussion of their Constitution and organization Cf. Campbell, on. cit., p. 32 f.; M.P. Harney, S.J., The Jesuits in History, pp. 100-120; C. Coppens, Who are the Jesuits?, pp. 19-29; Boehmer, on. cit., pp. 79-90.
9. Harney, on. cit., p. 195.
10. Ibid., p. 197.
11. Ibid., p. 201.
12. For a list of these universities Cf. ibid., p. 202.

In their defense of the Catholic Church against Protestantism and their efforts to win back lost territory their literary achievements play a large part. Men such as Francis Suarez, Fonseca, Molina and Bellarmine, to mention just a few, were the fountains from which the intellectual defense of Catholicism was poured forth.

By their policy of placing Jesuits as father-confessors to the Catholic princes of Europe they exerted a great force for the expansion of Catholic power and the suppression of the Protestants.

By their colleges and schools the Jesuits did much to carry out one of the purposes of their existence, the suppression of the Protestant Reformation and the winning back of parts of Europe that had been lost to the Protestants. They made education a strong weapon for the furtherance of the Roman Catholic Church. In the Society of Jesus the Church had a strong and well organized group to fight for her cause.

This was the age of discovery, colonization, and expansion. Here, too, the Jesuits fulfilled their second purpose, that of Christianizing the world. They were the great missionaries of this period. One of their greatest missionaries was Francis Xavier. On May 6, 1542, he arrived at Goa in Portuguese East India. In 1549 he wrote to Ignatius, "At this moment, members of our Society are living in all parts of India where there are Christians.

There are four on the Moluccas, two in Malacca, six at Cape Comorin, two in Cochin, two in Bassalin, and four on the island of Sokotra."[13] The Jesuits also did work among the nations of Japan and China.[14] They labored both in North and South America. Chile, Ecuador, Paraguay and New Granada became independent missions having been started from the original missionary enterprise in Peru. In North America it was a Jesuit, Pierre Marquette, who did work among the Indians particularly along the Mississippi River valley. Throughout the world at this time the missionary work was being done by Fathers of the Society of Jesus. When the great age of expansion burst upon the world it was this Order who answered the challenge of the Church and provided the men to accompany the explorers on their journeys, to found centers of Christianity in foreign lands, and to expand these centers into whole countries.

Thus we have seen that in the sixteenth century, when the Church was faced with the double problem of the Protestant Reformation and the tremendous expansion of the world due to exploration and colonization it was the Society of Jesus which stepped into the fore and answered these problems. This Order rose to meet these situations in these times.

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13. Quoted in R. Fülöp-Miller, The Power and Secret of the Jesuits, p. 208.

14. For an account of these activities Cf. Harney, op. cit., pp. 227-233.

Chapter VI

Conclusion

Following the barbarian invasions it was the Church which held Europe together in a society. She was the one unifying factor in the early Middle Ages. When the uncultured and uncivilized horde of barbarians poured into Europe, there was no government strong enough to cope with the situation. The countries after the fall of the Roman Empire were decentralized and non-cooperative. The force necessary to meet this situation was found in the Church, which through her monks could infiltrate into these barbaric hordes and bring order out of chaos and civilization out of barbarianism. Here monasticism rose to meet the occasion and provided the Church with the men and the organization which it needed.

When during the Crusades the pilgrims were a prey to the Mohammedans, it was again Monasticism, in the form of the Military Orders, which met the need of the time and formed a "military police" for the protection of pilgrims and crusaders. When these crusaders were wounded in battle it was the Knights Hospitallers who provided the hospitals and care for these wounded men.

In the thirteenth century the early feudal system was in effect and everything was centered around and geared

for the nobility. The common people were left uncared for. The nobility were too interested in themselves to provide for the poor either physically or spiritually. The Church was concerned with seeking higher positions and the ravages of simony were everywhere to be found. It was a corrupt age. What was needed was someone to think of and work for the poor. Again it was Monasticism which met this need in the Friar Minors of St. Francis. When, at this same time, heresy began to rear its head it was the Order of Friar Preachers started by St. Dominic which rose to combat this problem.

At the time when the Protestant Reformation was sweeping across Europe and the Catholic Church was losing ground, she found an aid in the newly formed Society of Jesus. By education this Order sought to regain the ground lost to the Protestants and to strengthen the society's position in Europe. The ships of voyagers searching for new lands beyond the sea often carried Jesuit missionaries with them, with the result that in the New World whole nations like Peru, for example, were brought within the pale of Christianity.

When a crisis arose in the Church or in Europe, the force which rose to meet it was often Monasticism. By adapting itself to whatever was needed at the time, Monasticism rose to meet the situation. It was never a static organization but often, with each new crisis, received new blood in the form either of a major change or

the rise of a new Order especially designed to meet the problem at hand. In this thesis we have endeavoured to show how a few of these adaptations were made and the results that were achieved. While we have dwelt with only four Orders and then only with the circumstances which brought them into existence, we can see from this little study that Monasticism did adapt itself to meet the exegencies of the times.

APPENDIX A

The Rule of St. Benedict

We will here briefly summarize this Rule, giving the chapter headings as found in Cardinal Gasquet's translation of the Rule of St. Benedict.

Chapter I	Of the several kinds of Monks and their lives.
Chapter II	What the Abbot should be.
Chapter III	On taking Counsel of the Brethren.
Chapter IV	The Instruments of Good Works.
Chapter V	On Obedience.
Chapter VI	On Silence.
Chapter VII	On Humility.
Chapter VIII	Of the Divine Office at Night time.
Chapter IX	How many Psalms are to be said in the night hours.
Chapter X	How Matins, or the Night Praises, are to be said in the Summer season.
Chapter XI	How Matins, or the Night Watches, are to be celebrated on Sundays.
Chapter XII	How Lauds are to be solemnized.
Chapter XIII	How Lauds are to be celebrated on ordinary days.
Chapter XIV	How Matins is to be said on the Feast days of Saints.
Chapter XV	At what seasons Alleluia is to be said.
Chapter XVI	How the day Divine Office is to be said.
Chapter XVII	How many Psalms are to be said in these Hours.
Chapter XVIII	The order in which these Psalms are to be said.

APPENDIX B

The Canonical Hours

We will take an average day in Lent when the sunrise and sunset are near to six o'clock and the equinoctial hours during both the day and night are approximately sixty minutes in length.

A.M.	
2	Rise
2 - 3:30	Vigils
3:30 - 4:30	"Meditatio"
4:30	Aurora
4:30 - 5:00	Matin Office (Lauds)
5 - 9	Reading (Prime at 6, sunrise)
9	Tierce
A.M. - P.M.	
9:15 - 4:00	Work (Sext at 12)
4	None
4:30	Vespers
5	Meal
5:45	Collation
6 (sunset)	Compline
6:30	Retire

According to this horarium the time allotted for reading is about 3 3/4 hours; work, 6 1/2; "meditatio," 1; and sleep, 7 hours, (taken from Butler, op. cit., p. 281).

APPENDIX C

"BULL OF POPE PASCHAL II., CONFIRMING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN. (Translated from the original Latin.)

Paschal, bishop, and servant of such as are servants of God, to his venerable son Gerard, founder and Master of the Hospital at Jerusalem, and to his lawful successors for evermore. The requests of a devout desire ought to meet with a corresponding fulfilment. Inasmuch, as of thy affection thou hast requested, with regard to the Hospital which thou hast founded in the city of Jerusalem, in proximity to the Church of the blessed John the Baptist, that it should be supported by the authority of the apostolic see, and fostered by the patronage of the blessed apostle Peter: We, therefore, much pleased with the pious earnestness of thy hospitality, do receive the petition with our paternal favour, and do ordain and establish, by the authority of this our present decree, that that house of God, your Hospital, shall now be placed, and shall for ever remain, under the protection of the apostolic see, and under that of the blessed Peter. All things whatsoever, therefore, which by they persevering care and solicitude have been collected for the benefit of the said Hospital, for the support and maintenance of pilgrims, or for relieving the necessities of the poor, whether in the churches of Jerusalem, or in those of parishes within the limits of other cities; and whatseever things may have been offered already

by the faithful, or for the future may through God's grace be so offered, or collected by other lawful means; and whatsoever things have been, or shall be granted to thee, or to thy successors, or to the brethren who are occupied in the care and support of pilgrims, by the venerable brethren the bishops of the diocese of Jerusalem; we hereby decree shall be retained by you in peace and undiminished. Moreover, as to the tithes of your revenues, which ye collect everywhere at your own charge, and by your own toil, we do hereby fix and decree, that they shall be retained by your own Hospital, all opposition on the part of the bishops and their clergy notwithstanding. We also decree as valid all donations, which have been made to your Hospital by pious princes, either of their tribute moneys or other imposts. We ordain furthermore, that at thy death no man shall be appointed in thy place, as chief and master, by any underhand subtlety, or by violence; but him only who shall, by the inspiration of God, have been duly elected by the professed brethren of the Institution. Furthermore, all dignities or possessions which your Hospital at present holds, either on this side of the water, to wit in Asia, or in Europe, as also those which hereafter by God's bounty it may obtain; we confirm them to thee and to thy successors, who shall be devoting themselves with a pious zeal to the cares of hospitality, and through you to the said Hospital in perpetuity. We further decree that it shall be unlawful for any man whatsoever rashly to disturb your Hospital, or

to carry off any of its property, or if carried off to retain possession of it, or to diminish ought from its revenues, or to harass it with audacious annoyances. But let all its property remain intact, for the sole use and enjoyment of those for whose maintenance and support it has been granted. As to the Hospitals or Poor Houses in the Western provinces, at Burgum of St. AEgidius, Lisan Barum, Hispalum, Tarentum, and Messana, which are distinguished by the title of Hospitals of Jerusalem, we decree that they shall for ever remain, as they are this day, under the subjection and disposal of thyself and thy successors. If, therefore, at a future time, any person, whether ecclesiastical or secular, knowing this paragraph of our constitution, shall attempt to oppose its provisions, and if, after having received a second or third warning, he shall not make a suitable satisfaction and restitution, let him be deprived of all his dignities and honours, and let him know that he stands exposed to the judgment of God, for the iniquity he has perpetrated; and let him be deprived of the Sacraments of the Body and Blood of Christ, and of the benefits of the redemption of Our Lord, and at the last judgment let him meet with the severest vengeance. But to all who deal justly and rightly with the same, on them be the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ, so that not only here below they may receive the rewards of a good action, but also before the Judge of all mankind, they may enjoy the

blessing of peace eternal.

I PASCHAL, Bishop of the Catholic Church.
I RICHARD, Bishop of Albee, have signed.
I CALIXTUS, Bishop of the Catholic Church.
I LANDULPHUS, Bishop of Beneventum, have read and signed.

Given at Beneventum, by the hand of John, Cardinal of the Roman Church, and Librarian, on the 15th day of the calends of March, in the 6th indiction of the incarnation of our Lord, in the year 1113, and in the 13th year of the Pontificate of our Lord Pope Paschal II." (Taken from Porter, A History of the Knights of Malta, I, 490 ff.)

APPENDIX D

"BULL OF POPE BONIFACE VIII., IN THE YEAR 1300, RECAPITULATING THE ORIGINAL RULE OF RAYMOND DU PUY, LOST AT THE CAPTURE OF ACRE. (Translated from the original Latin.)

Boniface, bishop, and servant of such as are servants of God, to his beloved sons the Master and brethren of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, greeting, and apostolical benediction: Whereas, from the throne of apostolic eminence, whereon, by the will of the divine grace we have been placed, we are constantly reminded how that ye have constantly displayed a wholesome adherence to the divine commands (spurning all the allurements of this world, which, although attractive, are but an illusion), fearing not to expose both your persons and your possessions to jeopardy in their fulfilment; and whereas we have carefully called to mind how that ye have ever hitherto displayed the most devoted affection, and the most reverential zeal towards our person, and towards your mother the Church of Rome, and continue so to do at the present time; we have thought it fit, and do consider it reasonable that, bestowing upon you and your Hospital our munificent grace, we should (so far as with God's permission we are enabled), admit your petitions to our favourable consideration. And whereas your prayer, when laid before us, was to the effect that some time since, at the capture of the city of Acre, ye lost the apostolic letter containing the provisions of your "Rule," with other things of no small value, for which reason ye

have humbly petitioned of us, that whereas ye no longer possess the letter of the brother Raymond, at that time the Master of your Hospital, who established the aforesaid "Rule," signed and sealed with his leaden seal, in which letter the said "Rule" was distinctly laid down, as ye assert; we might be graciously pleased to grant to you under a bull from us, a renewal of this "Rule," as a guarantee of a greater precaution:

We, therefore, being ever solicitous for the prosperity and tranquility, as well of yourself as of your Hospital, and being favourably disposed towards the granting of your pious requests, have caused the aforesaid "Rule," as it is understood to have been contained in the letter of the said brother Raymond, to be registered in the following terms, a few omissions and alterations of words having been made in it by our order. We, nevertheless, do confirm and renew the same "Rule," by our special grace, being well acquainted with it. The tenor of the letter was as follows: —

In the name of the Lord, Amen. I, Raymond, the servant of Christ's poor, and Master of the Hospital of Jerusalem, by the advice of the General Chapter of both clerical and lay brethren, have established the following precepts and statutes in the house of the Hospital of Jerusalem. In the first place, I desire that all those brethren who here dedicate themselves to the service of the poor, shall, by God's assistance, maintain inviolate the three

promises which they have made to him, namely, chastity; obedience, which is to be understood to include whatever may be commanded by the Master; and to live without any property of their own; because the fulfilment of these three vows will be required of them by God at the last judgment. And let them not seek for, or claim as due to them, more than bread and water and raiment, which things are promised to them; and let their raiment be humble, because our masters, the poor, whose servants we profess to be, appear scantily and meanly clad, and it is not right that the servant should be proudly arrayed whilst his master is humble.

Furthermore, it is ordained that their behaviour in Church shall be decorous, and their conversation such as befits their calling; let the clergy perform the service of the altar in white garments, and let each presbyter have a deacon, or a sub-deacon, to attend upon him, and when occasion demands it, let some other priest exercise this office; and let a light be for ever burning in the Church both by day and by night. And for the visitation of the sick, let a presbyter attend, dressed in white robes, bearing with reverence the Body of our Lord; and let him be preceded by a deacon, or a sub-deacon, or at least by an acolyte, bearing a lantern with a lighted candle, and a sponge filled with holy water. Furthermore, when the brethren appear in the cities or fortresses, let them not go alone, but two or three together; nor shall they select by whom they are to be accompanied, but shall go with

whomsoever the Master shall direct. Also, when they have arrived at their destination let them remain together. In their gait, in their dress, and in all their deportment, let them do nothing which may give offence in the eyes of any one, but only that which befits their sacred calling. Moreover, whenever they may be in a house, or in church, or wherever else women may be present, let them mutually guard over one another's chastity. Nor let women wash either their hands or feet, or make their beds, and so may the God that dwelleth on high watch over them in that matter. Amen.

And let pious persons, both clerical and lay, be sent forth to seek alms for the holy poor. And when they shall require hospitality let them proceed to the church, or to the house of some person of good repute, and let them ask for food of that person for the sake of charity, and let them buy nothing else. And if in truth they find no one who will assist them, let them purchase by measure one meal only, by which to support life. And out of the alms which they may collect, let them secure neither lands nor pledges for themselves, but let them deliver the amount over to their Master, with a written account, and let the Master transmit it with the paper to the Hospital, for the use of the poor. And of all their donations, let the Master take a third part of the bread, wine, and other nutriment, and should there be a superfluity, let him add what remains to the alms, and let him send it under his own hand

to Jerusalem, for the use of the poor.

And let none go forth from any of their convents to collect alms, save only those whom the chapter and Master of the church may have sent; and let those brethren who have gone forth make these collections be received into whatever convent they may arrive at; and let them partake of the same food as the brethren may have divided amongst themselves; and let them not give any further trouble there. Let them carry a light with them; and into whatever house they may have been received with hospitality, let them cause the light to burn before them. Furthermore, we forbid our brethren from wearing any such garment as may be unbefitting our religion; and above all, we forbid them to use the skins of wild beasts; and let them eat but twice in the day, and on every fourth day of the week, and on Saturdays, and from Septungesima until Easter, let them eat no meat, excepting only those who are infirm and feeble; and let them never appear without clothing, but dressed in robes of wool or linen, or in other similar habiliments. But, if any of the brethren shall have fallen by the force of his evil passions into any of the sins of the flock, which may God forbid; if he have sinned in secret, let him repent in secret; and let him impose upon himself a suitable penance: if, however, his sin shall have been discovered publicly, and beyond contradiction, let him in the same place where he may have committed the sin, on the Sabbath day, after mass, when the congregation shall have

left the church, be stripped in the sight of all, and let him be scourged and beaten most severely with thongs, or rods, by his superior, or by such other brethren as the superior shall depute to perform this duty; and then let him be expelled from our Institution.

Afterwards, however, if God shall have enlightened his heart, and he shall return to the Hospital, and shall confess himself to have been a guilty sinner, and a transgressor of the laws of God, and shall promise amendment, let him be again received, and a suitable penance be imposed upon him; and for a whole year let him be considered as on his probation, and during this period let the brethren observe his conduct, and afterwards let them act as seems best to them in the matter. And if any brother have a dispute with another brother, and the superior of the house shall have noticed the disturbance, let this be his penance: let him fast for seven days; the fourth and the sixth, on bread and water; eating upon the ground without a table or a napkin: and if he shall have struck a blow, then for forty days; and if any brother shall absent himself from the convent, or the superior under whose control he hath been placed, wilfully and without the permission of the superior, and shall afterwards return, let him eat his meals on the ground for forty days, fasting on every fourth and sixth day on bread and water, and let him remain in the position of an alien for so long a time as he shall have absented himself, unless that time shall have been so

prolonged that it shall seem fitting to the chapter to remit a portion. Moreover, at table, let each one eat his bread in silence, as the apostle directs; and let him not drink after the "Completorium," and let all the brethren keep silence in their beds.

But if any brother, having misconducted himself, shall have been corrected and admonished twice or three times by the Master, or by any other brother, and by the instigation of Satan shall have refused to amend his ways, and to obey, let him be sent to us on foot, and bearing with him a paper, containing his crime; yet let a fixed allowance be made to him, that he may be enabled to come to us, and we will correct him. And let no one strike those entrusted to them as servants, for any fault whatever: but let the superior of the convent, and of the brethren, inflict punishment in the presence of all; yet let justice always be supported within the convent. And if any brother shall have made a disposition of his property after his death, and shall have concealed it from his superior, and it shall afterwards have been found upon him, let the money be tied round his neck, and let him be severely beaten by one of the brothers in the presence of the rest, and let him do penance for forty days, fasting every fourth and sixth day on bread and water.

Moreover, since it is necessary to lay down a statute for you all, we ordain that for each of the brethren as shall go the way of all flesh, in whatever convent he may

die, thirty masses shall be sung for his soul. At the first mass, let each of the brethren who is present offer a candle and a piece of money; which contribution, whatever may be its amount, shall be spent on the poor. And the presbyter who shall have sung the masses, if he does not belong to the convent, shall be maintained therein on those days, and his duty being finished, the superior himself shall entertain him; and let all the clothing of the deceased brother be given to the poor. But the brothers who are priests, and who shall sing these masses, let them pour forth a prayer to our Lord Jesus Christ on behalf of his soul, and let each of the priests sing a psalm, and each of the laity repeat 150 paternosters.

And with respect to all other crimes, and affairs, and complaints, let them be adjudged upon in general chapter, and let a just sentence be pronounced. And all these precepts we enjoin and impose upon you, in virtue of our authority, on behalf of Almighty God, the blessed Mary, the blessed John, and the poor; that they be observed strictly and zealously in all points. And in the convents where the Master and chapter have established a Hospital, when a sick person shall make application, let him be received thus: first, after having confessed his sins to the presbyter, let him partake of the holy sacrament; and afterwards let him be carried to his bed, and there, as though he were the Master, let him be charitably entertained every day with food before any of the brethren are supplied,

and that of the best the house can afford. And on each Sabbath day, let the Epistle and Gospel be sung in the Hospital, and let holy water be sprinkled around in procession. Furthermore, if any brother, having the superintendence of a convent in any foreign land, shall appeal to any secular person, rebelling against our authority, and shall give him the money appropriated to the poor, in order that, by his power, he may establish the authority of the said brother against the Master, let him be expelled from the general society of the brethren. And if two or more brethren shall be dwelling together, and if one of them shall have misconducted himself by an evil course of life, the other brothers are not to denounce him, either to the public or to the prior, but first let them chastise him by themselves, and if he will not permit himself to be chastised, let them call in the assistance of two or three others and chastise him. And if he shall amend his ways they should rejoice thereat; but if, on the other hand, he shall remain impenitent, then, detailing his crimes in a letter, they shall forward it to the Master; and whatever he and the chapter may decree, let that be done to the offender; and let no brother accuse another brother unless he is well able to prove the charge, for if he does so he is no true brother.

Furthermore, all the brethren of every convent, who shall now, or have heretofore offered themselves to God, and to the sacred Hospital of Jerusalem, shall bear upon

their breasts, on their mantles and on their robes, crosses, to the honour of God and of his sacred cross; to the end that God may protect us by that symbol of faith, works, and obedience, and shield us from the power of the devil, both in this world and in the world to come, in soul and in body, together with all our Christian benefactors. -- Amen. Therefore, let no man whatsoever be permitted to infringe this charter, signed, confirmed, and renewed by us, or to oppose himself audaciously to it. If, however, any one shall presume to act thus, let him know that he renders himself liable to the anger of Almighty God and of his blessed apostles Peter and Paul. -- Given at the Lateran, on the 7th day of the ides of April, in the sixth year of our Pontificate." (Taken from Porter, A History of the Knights of Malta, I, 492 ff.)

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